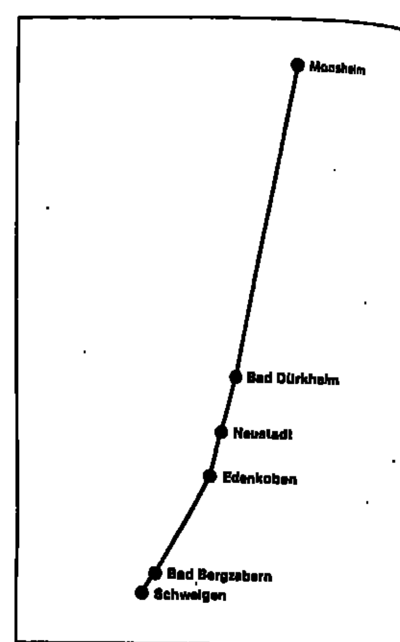
Routes to tour in Germany



The German Wine Route

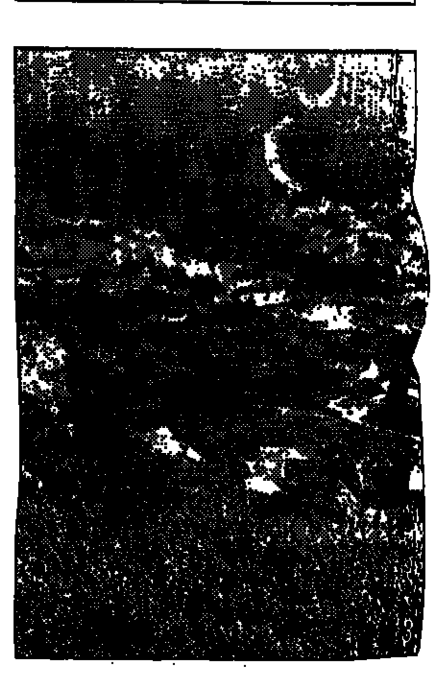


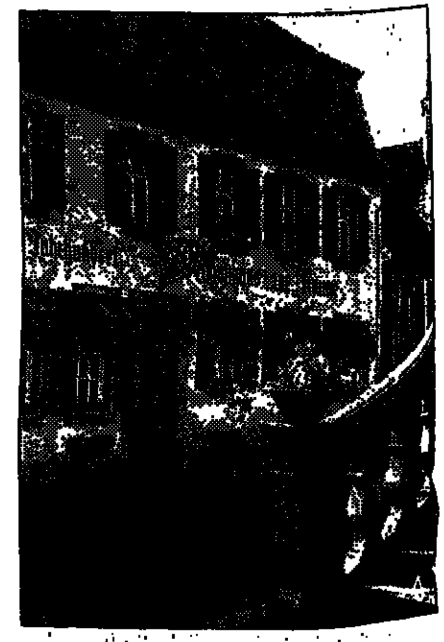


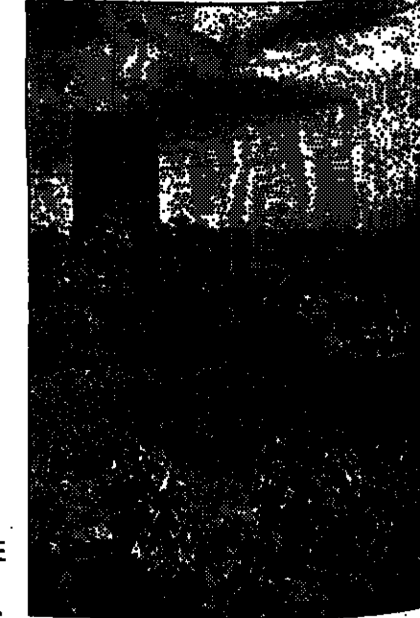
German roads will get you there – to the Palatinate woods, for instance, where 2,000 years ago Roman legionaries were already growing wine. Each vine yields up to three litres of various kinds of wine, such as Riesling, Sylvaner, Müller-Thurgau, Scheurebe or Gewürztraminer. Grapes are gathered in the autumn but the season never ends. Palatinate people are always ready to throw a party, and wine always holds pride of place, generating *Gemütlichkeit* and good cheer. As at the annual Bad Dürkheim Wurstmarkt, or sausage market, the Deidesheim goat auction and the election of the German Wine Queen in Neustadt. Stay the night in wine-growing villages, taste the wines and become a connoisseur.

Visit Germany and let the Wine Route be your guide.

1 Grapes on the vine
2 Dorrenbach
3 St Martin
4 Deidesheim
5 Wachenheim







The German Tribune

Hamburg, 25 May 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1227 - By air

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Survival of Atlantic links crucial to a free Europe

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Western Europe and the United States share an ocean and free democracy. Western Europe and the Soviet empire are separated by an *arbitrary dividing line* and by Leninist dictatorship.

The various links in the Atlantic system are based, in the final analysis, on the reassurance provided by extended deterrence.

Extended deterrence is the nuclear guarantee extended to Western Europe across the Atlantic by the United States, the bedrock of the Atlantic alliance.

US forces stationed in Western Europe perform a dual role. They are both a tangible security guarantee for Western Europe and a warning to the Soviet Union that America takes its commitments seriously.

Decoupling aims at either setting aside the US nuclear shield or pushing the US forces back onto the sea.

It has always entailed either the projection of Soviet power or German feelings of resentment and dissatisfaction. It currently involves a combination of both.

Nuclear pressure, conventional superiority and intimidation manoeuvres on the one hand are matched by the moralising arrogance of powerlessness, anticapitalist yearnings, starry-eyed pacifism and the temptation to anticipate capitulation.

Stalin twice failed in bids to decouple Western Europe from the United States.

The first time was in 1948 when with surgical precision he blockaded the Western sectors of Berlin to start the first Berlin crisis.

The second was in 1952 when he sought to forestall the integration of Western Europe under America's aegis by offering German reunification, free elections (of which the Soviet Union was to be the judge) and security (ditto).

From 1958 to 1961 the Kremlin sought to consolidate the GDR, to take over Berlin, to demoralise Western Europe and to displace the United States.

Detente began when when the Soviet Union came to terms with the status quo and was shaken when Stalin's heirs began, 10 years ago, to deploy SS 20 missiles aimed at Western Europe.

They did so at a time when the Americans were negotiating Salt 2 and thinking in terms of a Salt 3. The new Soviet objective was the same as the old: decoupling.

Nato needed both modernisation of medium-range nuclear missiles to update the deterrent and reaffirmation of the American guarantee.

The 1979 Nato twin-track decision was aimed at either disarmament by the East or missile modernisation and deployment in the West.

The Russians failed to see why they shouldn't maintain their existing potential and leave German protests to destroy Nato's position from within.

This bid also failed when Nato went ahead with missile deployment.

But the price paid for deployment included the rise of the Greens, a crisis in the SPD and the end of security policy consensus among leading West German political parties.

On the credit side of the account extended deterrence was reaffirmed and missile deployment and SDI brought the Russians back to the conference table.

Yet effective arms reduction still depends on the Federal Republic remaining predictable since, as always, both arms reduction and decoupling are at issue in Geneva.

The United States is bound to be interested in arms reduction because it is financially overextended, while the Soviet Union is economically overextended.

Soviet policy being aimed at contradictory targets in Geneva, the latest round of talks may, like previous ones, be doomed to failure.

The Russians would dearly like to stymie the American SDI research programme, to boost European opposition to SDI by conjuring utopian visions of a world without nuclear weapons and to mobilise European nuclear have-nots against the haves.

They would like to nullify missile deployment without scrapping their own medium-range missiles entirely.

Alternatively, they would like to scrap all medium-range missiles (how this is to be verified remains unclear) without reducing at the same time the conventional Soviet superiority in Europe.

These are initial, maximum objectives. If they remain the Soviet targets either the talks or Nato will come to a sticky end.

BUNDESTAG SPEAKER IN ISRAEL – Prime Minister Shimon Peres (left) welcomes Philipp Jenninger, Bundestag Speaker, to Jerusalem. (Photo: dpa)

The only prospect of combining arms reduction and stability while preventing decoupling is provided by the interim agreement proposed by the Americans. It envisages parity in land-based intermediate-range missiles.

This game of chess is being played on several boards simultaneously. Technically and strategically, politically and psychologically, they are all interlinked.

If arms control were the sole objective, success could easily be achieved. But the Kremlin wants to decouple Western Europe strategically and psychologically from the United States, thereby achieving unequal security and erosion of Nato.

This ambiguity will impede progress for as long the Soviet Union expects the Western Europeans in general and the Germans in particular will lose their nerve.

This is the historic irony of German pacifism, its contradiction and destabilising effect.

The idea behind all the Soviet moves on the Geneva chessboard is the aim of gaining a Soviet veto of the US guarantee to Western Europe.

Breaking the chain of escalation is only the first step. A framework would then be established for further negotiations. The political effect could be reversed, with decoupling as the result.

This system of Soviet pressure and

Continued on page 6

Gorbachov ploy to divert world opinion

No US President has visited Hiroshima while in office. Jimmy Carter did not visit the monument to victims of the first atomic bomb until he was an ex-President.

At the end of the Second World War American leaders saw Hiroshima as a military demonstration that there was no further point in Japan offering resistance.

The city that came to symbolise a new and dangerous era was chosen because it had previously been undamaged and the effects of the atomic bomb would be fully apparent.

The moral view of this experiment is different now than it was then, after years of grim warfare. But no US President is ever likely to kneel before the Hiroshima monument while in office and thereby admit to guilt.

For this reason alone Mr Gorbachov's suggestion of a meeting with President Reagan on 6 August, the 41th anniversary of Hiroshima, in Hiroshima (or somewhere in Europe) to sign a test-ban treaty sounds more like a propaganda ploy.

It is designed to divert world (and Soviet) opinion from the causes and effects of the Chernobyl reactor catastrophe.

The CPSU general secretary took two and a half weeks to comment on the catastrophe in public and even though he wasn't expected to be absolutely frank about the accident it came as a surprise to see how far short he fell of the level of disclosure he had previously set himself.

It is hard to believe the Soviet leaders were given delayed notification of the

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IN THIS ISSUE

■ DISARMAMENT

Wide support for chemical weapons withdrawal

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher managed in Tokyo to persuade President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz to agree to withdraw all US chemical weapons from Germany by 1992.

SPD foreign policy spokesman Karsten Voigt welcomed the decision.

Enormous quantities of highly toxic chemical weapons are stockpiled in the Federal Republic, particularly in the Palatinate, Chancellor Kohl's part of the country.

Officially both the Americans and the Germans still refuse to say where these US stockpiles are and how safe they are. That, they say, is classified information.

But the news from Tokyo is not all good. For some time there has been talk in the United States of modernising chemical weapons. The latest catchphrase in the media is the concept of binary weapons.

They are chemical weapons said to be less problematic to stockpile because they consist of two components stored separately and harmless on their own. Only the combination of the two is lethal.

Chancellor Kohl told the Press in Bonn on 11 April: "There will be no new binary chemical weapons stationed in the Federal Republic."

But it was for the United States to decide whether or not to manufacture them.

At a session of the Bundestag's disarmament and arms control sub-committee Social Democrat Voigt accused the Chancellor of not having told the truth.

He had fellow-Social Democrat Egon Bahr, chairman of the sub-committee, table four US documents from which it was clear in many ways that Washington linked the manufacture of these new weapons with the agreement of America's European allies to allow them to be stationed in their countries.

In a document of the House Committee on Foreign Relations frank reference is made to the 1954 agreement on the stationing of US forces in Germany, the terms of which permit the Americans to add to or modernise their stocks of chemical weapons without consulting the Germans.

Herr Voigt feels his move has been instrumental in prompting the Foreign Office to advocate more keenly than in the past a political and diplomatic arrangement giving the host nation more rights than they are allowed by the terms of the 1954 treaty.

Foreign Office diplomats seem to have had to work hard to persuade other members of the government, both Defence Minister Wörner and Chancellor Kohl, that changes were needed.

The Defence Ministry had already agreed to make do with a provision that German authorities were merely to be consulted before new chemical weapons were stockpiled in the Federal Republic.

Major-General Hüttel, the Defence Ministry official in charge of military policy, was taken to task by Foreign Minister Genscher personally and is said by eye-witnesses on a flight to Venice to have taken the point.

Herr Genscher can certainly claim to know better than almost any member of the Bonn government what practical importance is to be attached to pledges, even by allies, to hold consultations.

In Tokyo the Germans are now said by the Foreign Office to have persuaded the Americans to grant them a clear veto.

In other words, the tiresome 1954 treaty terms have been improved to an extent that was not even achieved in connection with Nato deployment of medium-range US missiles.

At forthcoming Nato conferences in Brussels and Halifax the United States is to formally declare that shipment of binary chemical weapons to the Federal Republic (or other Nato states) will be subject to the consent of the Bonn government (or other governments).

The shortcoming of this arrangement is that it fails to specify when the eventuality, or contingency, might arise. At a Free Democratic gathering in Essen Foreign Minister Genscher said:

"After the elimination of chemical weapons currently stationed (in Germany) there will be no peacetime stationing of new chemical weapons without the consent of the Federal Republic of Germany, not even by the terms of contingency planning."

The Opposition Social Democrats in particular are worried the eventuality might arise in connection with US hostilities prior to war as such.

It would be the Americans who said the necessity had arisen and Opposition foreign policy experts are at a loss to envisage a Bonn government that would refuse to open the door to the latest chemical weapons if the United States were to say the time had come.

At the Foreign Office these misgivings are not being allowed to detract from the terms agreed in Tokyo.

A further point emphasised, and a useful side-effect, is that the problem of singularisation will no longer arise.

In other words, Germany would no longer be the only Nato state where chemical weapons were stationed as a deterrent.

Against the background of the agreement reached with the United States the Bonn government is keen to emphasise its overriding interest in a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

Despite occasional fits of optimism the Geneva talks on chemical weapons are making slow headway, but hopes remain that terms may be negotiated.

Chemical weapons are already banned by international law — the 1925 Geneva protocol — but this ban is clearly not felt by the countries represented in Geneva to be an effective deterrent.

Herr Genscher has expressed hopes of swift and substantial results in Geneva. Foreign Office officials stress that the United States will not manufacture binary weapons if agreement is reached in Geneva by the end of November 1987.

The Christian and Free Democratic Bonn coalition will have nothing to do with Opposition plans for a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe (a topic discussed with Czech government officials in Prague by Social Democrats Voigt and Bahr).

The Federal government is banking on an international agreement; Reports of the withdrawal of existing chemical weapons stockpiled in Germany and a German right of veto on the stationing of updated binary weapons do not bring the Geneva disarmament talks a decisive step further.

So the upshot is that the withdrawal of older chemical weapons from German soil can only mean the United States is determined to go ahead and manufacture the new binary weapons.

As for the withdrawal of existing stockpiles by 1992, the Defence Ministry claims to know nothing about this deadline. In the US Congress mention had only over been made of September 1994.

But this misunderstanding may be clarified at the next meeting of the Federal Security Council convened to decide what position Germany is to adopt on chemical weapons.

Sten Martenson

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 May 1986)

First-use ban

First use of chemical agents and chemical weapons is banned by international agreement.

But that has never deterred a belligerent from either manufacturing or using them.

There are no international bans on manufacturing and stockpiling chemical weapons or using them in response to first use by another party. Stockpiling has become a controversial topic in Germany.

The only effective deterrent in, for example, the Second World War was the threat of retaliation in kind.

Atomic, biological and chemical weapons are the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction known to man. Several hundred thousands tonnes of chemical weapons are said to be stockpiled.

Chemical weapons are defined as installations or devices by means of which chemical substances can be used for military purposes.

They can be chemical agents the effect of which ranges from temporarily immobilising an enemy to killing him within seconds.

So-called binary weapons have been devised to make storage safer. They only work if two components are combined to make up the lethal substance.

Depending on physical properties a distinction is drawn between short- and long-term agents. In terms of the damage they do they can be irritants, psychotoxic, damage the lungs, the nerves, the skin or the body in general.

There are missiles, bombs, grenades, sprays, mines, shells and portable toxins.

Some are invisible and can be neither smelt nor tasted, so they can be sprayed by aerosol in droplets one ten thousandth of a millimetre in diameter.

So they may not be spotted and the risk recognised until it is too late and the victims have already been poisoned or burnt or have died.

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 3 April 1986)

Surprise over Reagan Salt decision

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

President Reagan is considering phasing out America's B 52 strategic bombers from the limitations of Salt 2. He plans to re-equip them with cruise missiles.

The news came as a shock to America's European allies at the Tokyo economic summit. Even Britain's Mrs Thatcher is said to have objected forcibly to the idea.

It weighs heavily, like a hoar-frost, on hopes of East and West coming to terms.

The situation was said to be different as recently as in late April when the White House decided, in connection with the launching of a new Trident-class nuclear submarine, not just to mothball two older, Poseidon-class subs but to scrap them.

US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who cannot be said to be an supporter of the Salt agreement, said the President had reached this decision mainly on financial grounds.

Yet it was also said to have been taken partly so as to ensure that America kept to the terms of the Salt treaty.

There could be no question of a breach of Salt 2 in any case. The treaty was never submitted to Congress for ratification. In the context of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan it would almost certainly have been rejected by Congress.

Yet President Carter and his successor have chosen to abide by the strategic ceilings set in Salt 2. Views differ between hawks and doves in the United States as to whether the Soviet Union has done so.

There can be no question either that Salt 2 has slightly relieved pressure in the strategic arms sector even though the Russians may have ignored it by developing and deploying SS-20 missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe.

Secretary of State George Shultz is known to be in favour, unlike Mr Weinberger, of abiding by the Salt ceilings even though the treaty was only supposed to apply from 1979 to the end of last year.

President Reagan, in proposing to disregard the Salt 2 benchmarks, need not necessarily be motivated by anger at presumed Soviet breaches of the treaty terms.

He is more likely to be hoping to bring pressure to bear on the slow-moving Geneva disarmament talks and persuade the reluctant Soviet leader, Gorbachov, to agree to another superpower summit soon.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 May 1986)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Chernobyl becomes the main election issue

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Greens seem certain to benefit from the Chernobyl disaster when the Lower Saxony state election is held next month.

Campaign issues such as security and alleged anti-strike legislation have paled into insignificance.

Chernobyl and its consequences have taken hold of politicians from one end of the country to the other.

There has even been Christian Democrat criticism of the CDU/CSU-FDP government in Bonn.

Farmers are upset because of fallout precautions against suspect food. They were already upset by this year's Brussels farm price arrangements.

Christian Democrats, the coalition and the Cabinet are going to great lengths to reassure them by pledging compensation, but with a series of State elections coming up, they are not feeling easy.

Chancellor Kohl returned to the fray almost immediately on flying home from the Tokyo economic summit, but a special session of the Cabinet and a succession of deliberations was not able to do anything about compensating for the lack of central government powers in what is a federal system.

The Federal government could do little more than issue recommendations on the basis of advice given by the Radiation Protection Commission. Local authority lay with the *Länder* and local government authorities.

Bonn did not like the way ambitious politicians such as CDU Mayor Wallmann of Frankfurt sought to make political capital out of the radiation threat by proposing, in his case, to replace the sand in playground sandpits all over the city.

The Christian Democrats now need time in which to discuss objectively and level-headedly with the Social Democrats, the trade unions and arguably even the Greens the future and safety of and limits to atomic energy.

The CDU/CSU stands to benefit from the approach adopted by SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and SPD Opposition leader Gerhard Schröder in neighbouring Lower Saxony.

Both have chosen to adopt a zigzag approach, forecasting a gradual phase-out of nuclear power and not a head-over-heels exodus.

With state assembly elections to be held in Lower Saxony in mid-June there is not much time for such a debate.

A further problem is the alarming weakness of the Free Democrats, junior partners in the Bonn coalition, in north Germany.

Local FDP leaders Jürgens and Hirche are so pallid as to give the impression that the FDP is on its last legs in Lower Saxony.

"We are in a critical position in Lower Saxony," members of the Federal government readily admit.

Chancellor Kohl faces the Lower Saxon poll as a threat, coming a mere six months ahead of the January 1987 general election. Some CDU/CSU strategists have certainly conveyed this impression for months.

Mr Gorbachov's mishap in Chernobyl seems almost like a solution to the dilemma Chancellor Kohl might face if the CDU were to lose power in Lower Saxony.

The Lower Saxon results could then be attributed to Soviet nuclear fallout; not, perhaps an act of God but certainly one for which Bonn can hardly be blamed.

The Chancellor would not be predestined to lose the general election by any stretch of the imagination. By next January the shock caused by an SPD-Green coalition in Lower Saxony could improve the outlook for the Bonn coalition. Nuclear fears might by then have subsided too.

What most worries Herr Kohl is the Opposition's bid to harness fallout fears in its anti-government campaign.

The Chancellor is accused of not having minded the coalition shop satisfactorily, yet he feels confident he has largely achieved the targets set in the 1983 government policy statement.

Nato missile deployment has gone ahead. Conscription has been lengthened. The Labour Promotion Act has been amended to ensure that unemployment benefit payments do not tip the scales in industrial disputes.

The Chancellor is annoyed to see the government's achievements go virtually unnoticed because of bickering within the coalition.

Christoph Böhr of the *Junge Union* is at loggerheads with Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann. FDP general secretary Helmut Haussmann says the Kalkar fast breeder reactor project ought to be scrapped.

Someone is always moaning. Cabinet officials complain. Herr Kohl agrees with CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Premier, that this amounts to an "anti-campaign."

But the Chancellor and Minister of State Wolfgang Schäuble of the Chancellor's Office have come to realise there is little they can do about it because the squabbles mostly occur outside the government's purview.

Chief of staff Schäuble cannot keep coalition politicians on a tight rein, especially FDP and CSU MPs.

The Chancellor may console himself with the thought that people are sure to realise sooner or later that successful policies are a pointer to a head of government who has done a good job of work.

The man at the helm cannot be a washout if the Cabinet must be admitted to have delivered the goods.

When Herr Strauss was last in Bonn he seems to have given off-the-record assurances that he wasn't interested in replacing the Chancellor and would play no part in any such manoeuvres.

With state assembly elections due in Bavaria this autumn he is said to have felt the hue and cry of replacing the Chancellor would outweigh any conceivable benefit.

Herr Kohl concludes that the coalition must now jointly underline its achievements in order to retain power at the polls despite all obstacles.

Ballast is being thrown overboard. No-one in the Bonn coalition is now prepared to run the risk of rushing through what remains of the security legislation package.

The plan is to shelve them and wait until times are less hard and fresh coalition terms are negotiated once the general election is won.

No-one plans to make any further attempt to go ahead with amendments to the Works Councils Act. Let sleeping dogs lie. Free Democrats such as Burkhard Hirsch have also advised lying low.

He quoted Foreign Minister and former FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher, asking: "Who is going to shower praise on us if we go ahead with the idea?" There is a widespread and growing realisation that a minimum will suffice.

The Free Democrats stand to lose most if the coalition gets into heavy weather. The CDU will always remain a major party.

So Chancellor Kohl advises his junior partner not to rock the boat. But cheerful FDP leader Martin Bangemann, the Economic Affairs Minister, is happy to

Continued on page 4

Catastrophe ignites fundamental debate on nuclear energy

Indirectly the Federal government has admitted in the Bonn Bundestag to making mistakes after the Chernobyl reactor accident.

Chancellor Kohl referred to fears and worries widespread among the public and to the need for a uniform approach by the Federal and *Land* governments and local authorities in future.

Uniformity was certainly lacking this time round and worries would have been less if the public had not been confused by conflicting and contradictory information.

Confusion and contradictory advice are still with us.

The Bundestag debate further revealed that a fundamental debate on the future of atomic energy has begun.

If the government and political parties initially felt the debate might be avoided, they have been overtaken by events.

It will be a lengthy debate and is sure both to interest and to upset many people. It may even have political repercussions in the short term.

The first of these is a possible break-up of the Hesse coalition of Social Democrats and Greens.

The Bundestag speech by Hesse's Green Environment Minister, Joschka Fischer, would not have been endorsed by Hesse's SPD Premier, Holger Börner.

The SPD was represented by Gerhard Schröder, Opposition leader in Lower Saxony, as a speaker.

The Social Democrats clearly expect to benefit from the atomic energy debate in the state assembly elections in Lower Saxony next month.

No politician can be refused permission to bear elections in mind, but poll considerations alone are not enough for an energy debate. More must be expected from all concerned.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 May 1986)

SPD economic talks trip at fallout hurdle

Economic policy issues were all but forgotten at a meeting held by the Social Democrats to discuss those very topics.

Instead, nuclear energy dominated. The Chernobyl disaster has changed the entire whole mood of the SPD and this was reflected in the Hamburg meeting.

One man who could not hide his satisfaction was a former mayor of Hamburg, Hans-Ulrich Klose.

In 1981 Klose had to resign as Mayor of Hamburg because of his opposition to the construction of a power plant in Brokdorf, near the city.

He told the meeting: "I don't need to say anything about nuclear power plants. I said it all years ago." Delegates applauded long and loud.

When Klose resigned, his anti-nuclear stance did not at that time suit the Social Democratic scheme of things. Party members had begun to make their peace with the atomic reactors.

But now, barely five years later, things are changing.

Johannes Rau, who will be the SPD candidate for Chancellor next year, told the congress that the gradual abolition of nuclear energy was now a significant part of the party's programme.

The night before the beginning of the two-day long meeting concerned with future SPD economic policy, Rau gave into pressure of his closest advisors and rewrote his opening speech.

The passages about nuclear power were brought to the fore and he placed himself on the side of power plant critics.

Disputes on economic policy ranging from state quotas to tax and employment programmes were forgotten all of a sudden.

Fear of radiation united the delegates like no other theme had done in the previous months

Emotions were laid bare; the borders of political disagreement disappeared.

Even if one could listen later on to civil discussions on economic in the large assembly room of the congress centre, in the lobby and even on the evening tour around the docks, discussions were taking place centred exclusively on the problems of nuclear energy.

For many of those attending the economic results were less satisfying than the clear rejection of nuclear energy.

Admittedly it was not the congress' task to lay down guidelines for SPD economic strategy for the 1990s.

The event was organised more as a forum which could collect material for the decision making at the forthcoming party conference at the end of August in Nuremberg.

This explains why along with SPD party members, competent conversational partners from the opposing camp were in attendance

Wolfgang Roth, party spokesman on economics and author of *Urfassung*, a new SPD economics programme for the future, was responsible for meeting.

It was his idea to invite 500 officials from different economic associations.

Many did turn up. Among them was Heinrich Weiß, chairman of the CDU economics advisory board. And Professor Karl Fels, President of the German Economics Institute.

Many discussion took place between the guests and despite the controversial

Continued on page 4

■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD says State poll will be neck-and-neck

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The Lower Saxony Social Democrats think they have a good chance of becoming the next state government in the election next month.

They say opinion polls are showing that the poll will be a neck-and-neck race between the SPD and the Christian Democrats, who have an absolute majority.

Whether this is just wishful thinking remains to be seen. But it is widely agreed that the State Premier, Ernst Albrecht, is more vulnerable than he was at the last election four years ago.

One big factor is Chancellor Kohl, whose image is not good. The Lower Saxony CDU is having to admit as much and concede that Kohl's performance is not doing much for the party's election prospects.

This presents both Albrecht and the Social Democrat challenger, Gerhard Schröder, with probems.

In order to survive, Albrecht is being forced to turn Lower Saxony's problems into the main election issues.

Federal politics is only to be given prominence if the danger arises that Lower Saxony's votes would be lost to the SPD in the Bundesrat (Upper House) and thus affect the CDU majority there.

Schröder, on the other hand, wants to *make federal politics an election issue.* Exploiting Kohl's image would help offset the natural advantages the CDU holds as the incumbent.

However if the SPD candidate makes too much of a nation-wide issue of the situation, he runs the risk of turning the election into an election of destiny for the coalition. This might trigger a rescue attempt by the voters.

To avoid this the SPD are going to great pains to portray it instead as an election of destiny for Kohl. Particularly so, when at present the vast majority of the electorate would interpret an SPD victory as a signal for Kohl to make way for someone else, and a CDU victory as a well earned period of probation.

Whichever strategy Schröder decides on he is still going to be faced with the difficult problem of not having any natural coalition partner available.

If the CDU fails and, at the same time the Free Democrats fail to make the 5 per cent barrier necessary to win representation, then the SPD would stand alone. But the situation would be unworkable because Schröder is no longer interested in working with the Greens, the only alternative which in this case would be available.

He used to have a more favourable attitude to them. At one stage he held what turned out to be superficial coalition talks with them.

And although the Greens have shown enthusiasm for linking up with the SPD, its mixture of fundamentalists and "realos" has so far hindered any firm committment.

Gerhard Schröder is a candid man who says what he thinks. Because of this he has been staunchly reproached with the claim that he is a possible future Lower Saxony version of Holger Börner, who before his election said he would not work with the Greens but afterwards did precisely that.

To counteract such accusations he took a leaf out his colleague Johannes Rau's book, and proclaimed: "I want to be Prime Minister, but not at any price." Obviously *it's important to reflect not just merely on how one can become elected, but also on how it will be at all possible to govern:* Maybe it will help him. In any case the election is expected to have a very high turnout, although it is not expected that the farmers will flock in hordes over to the SPD.



Now shake hands and come out fighting. Ernst Albrecht (left) Prime Minister of Lower Saxony at weigh in with his Social Democrat challenger next month, Gerhard Schröder. (Photo: dpa)

The challenger's election camp have no illusions about that at all. The SPD is attempting merely to make it clear to farmers, that they can only expect nation-wide help if workers, who are the major consumers, show understanding for their problems.

It is the SPD's intention to foster such understanding. But whether the farmers can be convinced in this way to vote for the SPD is doubted even by Schröder himself.

Ernst Albrecht on the other hand is aware that the absolute majority of four years ago will not be repeated. For that *reason he is placing his hopes on the FPD,* which was in Opposition in the last parliament.

But now the FDP is warning that its attitude is changing. It now wants to share power because it believes that is the best way it can help the federal party in the Bonn coalition.

Opinion polls have not given much ground for optimism. These have been saying that the Liberals would not even come close to clearing the five per cent hurdle.

How this is supposed to changed in the next six weeks remains an FDP secret.

Its plan would appear to be to lure disappointed CDU voters with the carrot of future FDP support for Albrecht.

To calm the nerves they have persuaded themselves that their small party, which used to be so proud of being the third power, always got the response from the voter, whenever they were called upon to clinch a majority.

In this regard the hopes of the CDU and the FDP are identical. For apart from the FDP, what alternative has Albrecht got when it comes to holding on to power?

The prospect of this is not appeasing the protesting and demonstrating farmers who have have already written them off when it comes to being helpful in emergencies.

The explosion which blasted a hole in the wall of the prison in Celle, and which among other things livened up the somewhat tedious campaigning, was welcomed by the CDU as a gift from heaven.

The explosion released a furious debate on internal security, an area in which the CDU are perceived as having the required competence.

Whether the bombing will be still a hot issue *at the election on 15 June* is anybody's guess.

The Lower Saxony state chancellory are trying with daily statements that fail to sound like anything but the same, to stop the alleged intrepid deed of Albrecht from slipping into obscurity.

To counteract this, Schröder, no doubt influenced by SPD friends, is avoiding discussion of the issue and is slowly killing off Celle as a campaign hit for the CDU.

This is restoring proceedings to the rather unpleasant of ritual of old.

If Albrecht is to succeed he will have to put together a line of argument which distracts attention from Kohl.

Schröder on the other hand will have to exploit the lowly standing of the Chancellor. How the Chancellor's standing will actually affect the election is anybody's guess at this stage.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 5 May 1986)

Chernobyl

Continued from page 3

allow FDP criticism of, say, Herr Zimmermann. Herr Bangemann may be satisfied with himself and the state of his party but the FDP remains a weak link in the coalition even now its leadership has changed hands, as fears in Lower Saxony remind us.

Talk of a Cabinet reshuffle when the coalition is re-elected next January is wildly premature. No-one has been given any assurances by Chancellor Kohl: neither FDP Ministers such as Herr Genscher nor CDU Ministers such as Herr Wörner, neither CSU Ministers such as Herr Zimmermann nor likely newcomers such as Herr Wallmann or Herr Biedenkopf, the North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader.

He is determined to wait and see how the three parties perform at the polls before allocating portfolios.

Herr Wallmann would definitely have been in line for the Interior Ministry if he had been available in March last (always assuming it was the CDU's prerogative).

But the Chancellor wisely prefers not to say yet who is in line for which job next time round.

All that can be said for sure is that the line-up needn't be the same as it is now. In the forthcoming legislative period other long-term tasks will lie ahead than *those that faced the CDU/CSU and the FDP in October 1982 or March 1983* when the immediate task was arguably to clear up the mess left behind *by their* predecessor.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler is keen to see an Environ*ment Ministry* set up with responsibility for health.

There has long been talk of a reform of Cabinet structure and adjustment to tasks for which several Ministries are currently responsible.

Will Herr Geissler perhaps return to the Cabinet? The Chancellor is not saying; he never does about appointments of which he is the final arbiter.

There will be no changes before the general election. Subsequent changes are an increasing possibility now pressure on the Chancellor seems likely to be eased, with legal investigations of his personal conduct reportedly due to be abandoned.

That would certainly be a boost to the Chancellor, but Chernobyl has shown how easily the political parties in Bonn can run into heavy *weather* and how great a part chance can play.

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1986)

Continued from page 3

nature of some, they remained civil and polite.

Admittedly, there were only a few questions raised which were visibly of a controversial nature.

The basic discussion of the question whether more or less state interference was required in the economy, was hardly discussed in Hamburg.

Friedhelm Farthmann, who had dissociated himself before the conference from his provokative thesis calling for a necessary increase in the state quota, did an about turn at the meeting.

This earned him the disdain of his fellow SPD internal critics and led to the "freemarketeers" playing a leading role.

Johannes Rau confirmed his belief in the principle of economic competitiveness and propagated a new policy for the middle classes. KLaus von Dohnanyi, the Lord Mayor of Hamburg, who is forcing his way into the phalanx of the economics experts of his party, warned against overtaxing the entrepreneur.

Ingrid Matthäus-Maier said after the meeting, "whoever says the SPD isn't fully behind the socially orientated free market economy is telling lies or just didn't understand anything."

The once acclaimed star of the free market, Karl Schiller agrees with her.

The guests treated him with utmost respect. They were also quite relieved when he said that, " After some irriation, the party had once again rediscovered the regulating function of the socially orientated free market economy."

In Hamburg critics were rather muted. Although Hans Janzen, the wage negotiations expert of IG metal, reaped much applause for his attacks on Rau and Dohnanyi.

He tackled two central passages of their speeches.

He criticised Rau for saying that it made economic sense to install intensive expensive machines and for bringing about a discussion of the possibility of that bringing about more flexible working-hour regulations.

Janzen told Rau with a threatening undertone to drop this passage from his speech.

He then turned on Dohnanyi and said: "Don't ever say again that the jump to the 35-hour week with full wage is not economically possible in most industries."

Jürgen Tuchel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 12 May 1986)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Nato commander Rogers an American with a touch of the European

Kansas-born US General Bernard W. Rogers, the supreme Nato commander in Europe, is unmistakably American. For a start, he speaks like one.

But after nearly seven years at Shape in Mons, Belgium, the vigorous 65-year-old general seems to side more with the Europeans than with his fellow-countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic.

Reviewing Nato, its problems and tasks; General Rogers repeatedly refers to "us in Western Europe" and to "the Americans."

He particularly tends to go on to the defensive with regard to US criticism of the European contribution toward Nato — criticism he says is widespread both in Congress and among the US public.

"The countries of Western Europe bear a fair share of the joint burden," he then says, referring to "covert costs" borne by all, such as conscription.

Conscription is a "social and human *cost factor." It* also helps to ensure a steady supply of trained reservists.

The four-star general stresses that America is not just being charitable by stationing troops in Europe; vital US interests are inseparably interlinked with Europe's own.

Yet although he appreciates Europe's contribution he is worried not enough is being done to bridge the growing gap between East and West.

There is a note of disappointment in his voice (and he uses the word) when Fofa, short for follow-on forces attack, is mentioned.

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

Fofa is a concept drawn up under his aegis some years ago to fight the enemy's second wave with advanced conventional weapons deep behind enemy lines.

Nato's defence planning committee approved the "Rogers Plan" as a long-term planning target in November 1984. Opponents, he says, have consistently misunderstood it.

Its practical planning and implementation on a supranational Nato scale has so far been bogged down in Nato committees.

Fofa, says the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, is as important as an improvement in staying power by stockpiling more ammmunition and equipment such as tanks, howitzers and armoured personnel carriers.

Without Fofa Saceur would have no choice but to request permission to use nuclear weapons at a fairly early stage in hostilities. He refuses to specify in days what "a fairly early stage" means.

How are all these proposals to improve conventional armament to be paid for when Nato countries already have trouble meeting existing financial commitments?

This question is one General Rogers readily answers, being keen to get his message across. It is that priorities are what matter, in security affairs as in welfare programmes.

Greater sacrifices now would mean less expenditure in future. If the Soviet Union realised that the West was prepared to tackle its shortcomings in the conventional sector it might be readier for serious disarmament negotiations.

General Rogers sounds a distinctly sceptical note on Mr Gorbachov's disarmament initiatives. He sees them as nothing but a propaganda ploy until such time as they are included in the conference agenda.

"In the past," he says, "we have often found that what was said for public consumption and what came on the conference table were not one and the same.".

At the Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe, for instance, the East had insisted on its right to reject spot checks even after Mr Gorbachov had explicitly agreed to the idea as part of his own disarmament plan.

General Rogers says we must take care to ensure that President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative doesn't trigger disunity in Nato.

All SDI initially amounted to was an attempt to discover whether conventional defence against ICBMs with nuclear warheads was possible.

No-one yet knew whether SDI was feasible or could be paid for. The main problem would arise if the answer was "yes" on both counts and the United States decided to go ahead with it.

For a transitional period money would have to be invested both in the new system and in a modern strategic retaliation force, and that could prove to be at the expense of conventional armament.

As for the zero option, which the West raised in the first round of Geneva talks on medium-range missiles and Mr Gorbachov seems to come close to with his disarmament proposals, General Rogers sets his sights unrealistically high.

"If the Soviet Union were to scrap its SS-21s, SS-22s and SS-23s as well as the SS-20s and were prepared to embark on a significant, balanced reduction in conventional forces we might then, I feel, seriously consider scrapping the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles."

Klaus Kleebaum

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 10 May 1986)

General Bernard W. Rogers... author of misunderstood plan. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Continued from page 1

reactor accident and were long unaware how serious it was. Mr Gorbachov is more likely to have stuck to his predecessors' tactics of smothering the flames and denying there was a fire.

This approach failed to work because radioactive fallout was not restricted to Chernobyl. It spread to large areas of the Soviet Union and neighbouring countries, extending to Central and Southern Europe.

A cover-up was no longer possible, yet what Mr Gorbachov had to say about the accident contained nothing that wasn't already known.

In saying the area was still a health hazard he merely admitted the contamination level was very high and would long remain a problem.

In his TV address he also confirmed that the Soviet leaders have no intention of allowing themselves to be pilloried on account of the reactor accident.

The Soviet leader plans to regain the initiative by attempts to redirect discussion to other topics.

But the main topic is, for the time being, a power reactor that has exploded. It is, moreover, a reactor generating both electric power and the plutonium needed for nuclear warheads.

It would undoubtedly have been worse if a nuclear warhead had exploded; so no-one has tried to make out Chernobyl and what it stands for to be less important than Geneva.

That is not to say there must be no investigation of the danger presented by anything less than a nuclear holocaust.

Moscow seems to realise that Chernobyl-style reactors are designed primarily to generate power and plutonium the faster the better and with safety precautions a secondary consideration.

This cannot be admitted in public, however, so instead there are complaints that Russia is surrounded, as ever, by enemies intent on exploiting its difficulties.

This is merely a psychological ploy aimed at preventing the Soviet public from wondering how great the hazard is to their personal safety.

In Europe at least, and on both sides of the dividing line that splits it down the middle, this and other questions can no longer be ignored.

How can reactor safety standards be improved? What about uniform standards and an early warning system? What about guarantees of full information in the event of an emergency?

Mr Gorbachov has hinted that the Soviet Union would be prepared to take part in some such safety system, and that is the most promising message he had for a worried world.

This judgement stands even though the Russians have tended in the past to keep an eye on others rather than to allow one to be kept on them in bodies of this kind.

In hurriedly raising the issue of compensation the Federal Republic of Germany dealt with a special aspect of the reactor safety debate.

The new Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Yuli Kvitsinsky, replied, bluntly as usual, that the West Germans were exaggerating the risk.

This is a view he shares with a number of German Christian Democrats. Chernobyl seems indeed to have resulted in a number of political realignments.

The result could well be that the main concern, the need for greater safety, is set aside and forgotten.

Josef Riedmiller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 May 1986)

■ EUROPE

German brewing laws 'a bar to free trade'

Beer from other European Community countries can only be imported into West Germany if it conforms to Germany's strict beer purity regulations.

This has managed to keep out most foreign beer. However, that might change. The European Commission now says the German regulations are a bar to free trade within the Community. It is taking the case to the European Court in Luxembourg.

Brussels does not want to do away with the Federal Republic's beer purity regulations, but it wants to open up the large German market to foreign beers which are not brewed in accordance with the German regulations.

The head of the German Breweries Association, Ulrich Oplierk, plays down the effects of the decision to go to court.

He said: "We already have strong competition in this country. We are not afraid of newcomers."

Bonn will defend the barriers, linked to the beer purity rules, against the competition.

In 1516 Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria drew up the beer rules. They are among the oldest and most effective foodstuffs regulations in the world. Beer must be brewed from natural ingredients, from hops, malt extract, yeast and water.

Beer taxes are based on these rules for brewing beer and no other kind of beer can be sold.

The results of the court action are not expected until the end of this year. Even if the plaintiffs win German brewers will still have to adhere to these purity rules.

It will be up to German beer-drinkers themselves to order German-brewed beer. Hops and malt extract have not, then, gone forever.

The European Commission takes the view that it is contrary to EC laws that German legislation should be applied to other EC member-states if beer is brewed in these countries in accordance with their regulations.

The Commission, responsible for ensuring that the Rome Treaty is observed in all its details, bases its view on article 30 of the Treaty that calls for the free movement of goods within the Commmunity.

Import restrictions are forbidden as well as "measures of equivalent effect."

The application of the pure beer regulations on other EC countries represents "a veiled hindrance to trade."

The Bonn government is not powerless. Article 36 of the European Economic Treaty has been cited as grounds for applying a prohibition on imports — on health grounds.

Bonn must provide evidence that beer brewed with chemical additives is a health hazard.

The line of argument is that there are enough chemicals in foodstuffs already. Should these substances be included in beer there would be a health hazard.

The high beer consumption is being used as an argument in favour of maintaining German health standards. The inconsistency as regards alcoholism is grotesquely disregarded.

Last year West Germans drank 146 litres of beer per person, the highest per capita consumption in the world.

According to a government report beer is regarded as a basic item of the shopping basket, and 25 per cent of men (more in Bavaria) regard it as a basic item of their diet.

The EC Commission has now confirmed that the additives permitted in other countries are not a health hazard. In this country itself these additives are widely used in other foodstuffs, and there are, in fact, some beers in West Germany that are not subject to the beer purity regulations, Weizenbier, Kölsch and Altbier, for instance.

Complaints are made against the Germans that they use the beer purity regulations as a pretext to cover up their real motives of protecting the domestic brewing industry from cheaper, and so undesired, major foreign breweries.

Most of the 1,240 breweries in this country are medium to small companies.

The Bonn government pays lip-service to a unified European Community market with the free movement of goods always well to the fore.

This free market, from which West German industry profits considerably, must be opened up to beer. At the EC summit in Luxembourg last December the discussions turned on the realisation of a unified domestic EC market.

At a midnight chat with journalists, Chancellor Kohl showed that he was not narrow-minded on this matter. He said that people in this country were too fussy about foodstuffs legislation.

He pointed out that there had again been 25 million West German holidaymakers abroad that summer and none of them had died from food poisoning.

Edgar Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 May 1986)

Aviation 'not exempt from common market rules'

Aviation is not exempt from the provisions of the Treaty of Rome — the European Court of Justice says so.

It says that fare-fixing by European governments and airlines contradicts the Treaty, signed almost 30 years ago.

Freedom of the skies is limited everywhere. Governments, no matter whether they are in the West, the East Bloc or the Third World, all keep a close watch on their airspace.

An almost impenetrable network of aviation agreements extends throughout the world, regulating air routes from country to country, from continent to continent.

America, the land of deregulation, restricts West German landing rights to 12 airports.

The British, advocates of deregulation, keep a suspicious eye on their share of the North Atlantic traffic.

The Russians put limits on air routes crossing Siberia to the Far East.

In this complex world the airlines have made their own arrangements and mutual agreements. Until now the European Community has made no alterations.

EC transport ministers of the member states continuously put off drawing up mutually-binding traffic regulations, particularly as regards aviation.

When transport ministers meet again next month they must consider an ultimatum issued by the EC Commission, warning them that they have until the end of June this year to produce a concept for European aviation.

If they delay the Commission will take them to the European Court.

The European Court decision has given fresh vigour to the Commission's efforts to liberalise European aviation.

The European Court judges ruled that the competition clauses of the Rome Treaty apply to aviation. Fare-fixing and capacity agreements, as applied by the airlines in the past, are forbidden.

In practice this judgment alters nothing for the time being, since its execution is in the hands of national authorities. The French, whose practices triggered off the case before the European Court, show no inclination to do away with state-approved air fares, leaving prices to market forces.

Spain, Italy, Greece and Denmark at present stand shoulder to shoulder with France.

Despite the European Court ruling,

DIE ZEIT

then, liberalisation of aviation in E[urope] is still a long way off. In the co[urse] of time air ticket prices will be[come] more flexible, but no-one pleads fo[r in]troducing a radical about-turn in E[uro]pean aviation policies.

The Europeans have good re[asons] for re-organising the rigid system [of the] past in a calm manner.

First: There are examples of "[open] skies" policies. The much-vaunted [US] model shows that all that glitters is [not] gold. Deregulation of American dom[es]tic aviation from most limitations, [al]most ten years ago, at first had the [ef]fects expected.

New airlines were established. A[ir]lines extended their network of rou[tes]. Prices tumbled. Air passengers profi[ted] from low air ticket prices.

The obverse side of this coin was c[on]siderable losses for many airlines. Fo[r] sound companies are now burdened [with] debts amounting to millions. Mas[s air]lines went to the wall or had to merge [with] other companies. An undesirable proc[ess] of concentration took place.

Aviation experts predict that ap[art] from a few regional airlines only six [ma]jor companies will be able to survi[ve]. They will then dominate the market.

Consumers are also among the losers. American aviation now serves fewer airports than previously. The airlines try to cover losses on major routes by taking advantage of short-haul stretches. There is cautious concern as to whether the airlines always maintain safety standards in the face of merciless competition.

Second: In Europe it is not only landing rights and price regulations that have to be set aside. Frontiers have to be breached and national pride overcome. What can be solved in Washington by the stroke of a pen has to be agreed in the EC by 12 governments af[ter] laborious negotiations.

One set of interests collides with [an]other; French dirigism with British [free] trade with West Germany in the mid[dle]. Radical demands stand in the way [of] reasonable solutions.

Third: Totally unimpeded competi[tion], that squeezes out the weak, is unthinkable for Europe. No goverment would agree to their national airline being excluded from the world's airways. Every governent would find ways and means to prevent this by new subsid[ies]. The tax-payer would have to foot the b[ill].

Fourth: In Europe it is not just a que[s]tion of the 12 EC countries. What, fo[r] example, would apply to the Scandinav[ian] airline SAS, that belongs to Com[munity-member] Denmark and non-EC members Norway and Sweden? Does EC or national law apply?

What should be aimed for is an aviation policy that does not divide up but unites European countries.

The wait-and-see attitudes of EC governments for an aviation policy have wasted 30 years. EC transport ministers now have a task before them that is like trying to square the circle.

The old system must be reformed. Liberalisation is essential, but the Europeans must avoid the errors and dangers of such a process.

Heinz Michaels

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 9 May 1986)

The Alliance

Continued from page 1

US-European counter-pressure is as old as the Atlantic alliance of which we form a part to this day.

Deterrence and coupling are the prerequisites of the North Atlantic pact. Without them it would never have taken shape and there would never have been a Federal Republic of Germany and a free and allied Western Europe.

If the Atlantic system were ever to collapse (and not just change) as a result of an American withdrawal, Soviet superiority or German delusions, the days of German democracy would surely be numbered, and with it those of free Europe.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 May 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Mercantile spirit inspired founding of national chamber 125 years ago

The Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DIHT), now based in Bonn, was set up 125 years ago in Heidelberg, where a three-day event is being held to celebrate the anniversary.

In 1861 businessmen from Baden (the western half of today's Baden-Württemberg) were instrumental in arranging the inaugural gathering of 195 representatives of chambers and corporations in the Student Prince city.

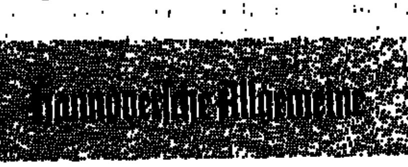
They discussed possibilities of joining forces at a time when the German Confederation consisted of over 30 separate states, including Austria.

The initiators of the inaugural gathering foresaw "insuperable obstacles to gaining political unity for Germany" but wanted to do their best to surmount such barriers, particularly tariff barriers, as they could.

The founding fathers of the Standing Conference called, for instance, for standard weights, measures and coinage. They demanded a new commercial code and joint German commercial representation abroad.

One of the driving forces was Theodor Frey from Eberbach. The inaugural meeting elected David Hansemann, a Rhenish Liberal, as its first president.

He was Prussian Finance Minister in 1848 and went on to found the Berliner Disconto Bank, forerunner of today's Deutsche Bank.



"The men who helped to found the Standing Conference in 1861 were very farsighted businessmen," says Otto Wolff von Amerongen, its current president.

"They knew from practical experience that entrepreneurial activity requires extensive freedom. They knew this freedom was constantly jeopardised by artificial trade barriers, customs, quotas and state control.

"Government administrations have always tended to favour a mercantilist outlook."

The struggle against this policy of battening down the hatches predominated in the Standing Conference's practical work for decades.

Disputes over iron and grain tariffs led to heated tempers in their own ranks.

At one stage the Baltic towns felt they had been overridden and resigned from membership. At another there were protests and resignations in the Rhine and the Ruhr.

But the renegades invariably returned to the fold. By 1899 all chambers of commerce in the Reich were members of what was then the Standing Conference of German Chambers of Commerce.

The first foreign chamber was set up in Brussels in 1894. It was followed by another in Bucharest in 1902. Neither survived for long but they marked the beginning of a trend.

German chambers of commerce set up soon afterwards in Holland and Switzerland lived on to tell the tale and are still alive and active.

Just before the First World War the conference had 172 members, including 139 chambers of commerce. In 1918 it was thoroughly reorganised and renamed the DIHT. During the Third Reich it was merged with the Nazi *Reichswirtschaftskammer*.

After the Second World War the 79 remaining chambers in the three Western zones resumed operations in various ways. The DIHT was re-established on 29 October 1949 in Ludwigshafen after the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Berlin and Saar chambers joined later, in 1950 and 1959 respectively. In centenary year, 1961, there were 81 chambers of commerce and industry affiliated to the Standing Conference.

In the 1970s territorial and organisational reforms led to a number of mergers, with the result that the DIHT now has 69 chambers in membership, plus 42 foreign trade chambers and five delegate offices.

The DIHT can always be sure of a political hearing in Bonn, but it would be wrong to view it as an industrial super-lobby.

A glance at the list of registered lobbies in Bonn should suffice. The DIHT is not listed, and for good reason.

The DIHT is an umbrella organisation representing chambers of commerce and industry that in their turn are self-governing bodies representing overall commercial and industrial interests.

They are legally obliged both to be objective and to advise and support the authorities.

"We are under a legal obligation to look further afield than within the limited scope of individual interests," says Franz Schoser, the DIHT's business manager.

"We have to integrate the needs of various regions and the most varied industries. There are times when the chambers send out questionnaires to up to 10,000 firms."

But this state of affairs lends particular importance to what the DIHT has to say. Dr Schoser cites an example to illustrate the wide range of day-to-day activities.

"What," he asks, "do certified pest control operatives and the Tax Streamlining Act have in common? What is the link between the double taxation agreement with People's China and the development of spas and health resorts?"

The answer is that they are four of 168 subjects on which the DIHT was consulted last year and asked to give its considered opinion. "We stated our views in writing to the Bundestag, the Bundesrat, Ministries and other authorities 168 times," Dr Schoser says.

The DIHT's attitude has been straightforward since its early days. In the struggle against state control the founding fathers were convinced that self-interest could serve the communal interest in a competitive system.

Or, as Otto Wolff puts it: "The secret of the market economy's success lies in those who work longer, harder, better and more creatively than others being rewarded, as are those who have the better ideas and offer products at lower prices than others.

"Entrepreneurial imagination discovers and opens up new markets. Prosperity results when those who are efficient can freely compete beyond frontiers and in ever larger markets."

This credo of prosperity and free trade is older than the DIHT but remains the benchmark by which its custodians are guided.

"Economic success is a prerequisite of social security," says Otto Wolff, "so the idea taken up in Heidelberg 125 years ago was a social one."

Wolfgang Hohmeyer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 May 1986)

Hamburg chosen to join the World Trade Centre club

Hamburg will be the first city in the Federal Republic of Germany with a World Trade Centre. If the investors take a snap decision and accept existing plans the foundation stone could be laid by the end of the year.

There are about 40 World Trade Centres already. They are in cities such as New York, Tokyo, Melbourne and Kuala Lumpur.

Werner Narzi of the city-state's Economic Affairs Ministry says the promoter, an industrial estate agent, has been granted membership of the WTC Association, entitling him to set up a New York-style World Trade Centre in Germany.

Herr Narzi is not saying who the investors are. They may be a consortium of German and foreign investors. They certainly seem to have the cash.

The location has yet to be officially decided, but a site near the main railway station is favoured. An architectural competition could be speeded up or axed if investors were to insist on a prompt start to construction work.

The centre is not, he says, to be a conventional office block. It must house about 100 firms engaged in foreign trade.

The idea is to provide Americans and others with a centre where they can conduct business without running a branch of their own in Hamburg.

Facilities must include the latest communications technology and access to the US data bank network, restaurants, a bank, forwarding agents, insurers and others.

The original proposal was to provide up to 120,000 square metres (1,440,000 square feet) of office space. This has since been scaled down to between 50,000 and 80,000 square metres.

As the centre is expected to be a major attraction it will have to larger than a normal office block, which amounts to between 10,000 and 15,000 square metres.

Herr Narzi says the project will require capital investment totalling roughly DM300m. Between 40 and 60 per cent of tenants will probably be firms new to Hamburg and create new jobs.

The city is particularly interested in the project because it will improve Hamburg's image as a commercial location and attract new firms.

Gisela Reiners

(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 May 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Volkswagen banking on an increase in demand



Volkswagen has retired from the office machinery fray licking its wounds. In seven years Triumph-Adler, now sold to Olivetti, ran up losses totalling over DM1.5bn.

"We now plan to open up new markets, not to diversify into new industries," says a VW spokesman.

The new approach is clear from a glance at the consolidated accounts for 1985, *the first double page of which features* a centre spread of the Seat works in Pamplona.

Volkswagen are now majority shareholders in the Spanish firm, with which Wolfsburg has been associated since 1982, the Spanish government having written off the debts of what used to be a state-owned firm.

"Seat as our third marque," says a Volkswagen spokesman, "is to cater for demand in the compact sector."

The Spanish subsidiary is envisaged as selling compacts mainly in the Mediterranean countries, where compacts make up a substantial share of the market — between 40 (in France) and 50 per cent (in Italy).

Ties with Seat have so far been well worth while from Volkswagen's point of view. Last year the Spanish company *made roughly 95,000 cars, of which* over 48,000 were sold in Spain and Portugal.

In comparison with 1984 Volkswagen boosted Iberian sales by 69.6 per cent to a market share of 8.6 per cent.

Seat models are planned in keeping with corporate strategy. There are plans to steadily increase the range toward the upper end of the market, so enabling Seat owners to stay loyal to their marque as they switch to larger cars.

But marketing networks are to be kept strictly separate and there are no plans to merge dealerships in Europe.

In aiming to open up new markets *Volkswagen are banking on a steady increase in demand.*

Last year a record 33 million cars were sold worldwide, and by 1990 the number is expected to increase to 40 million, of which VW expect the OECD markets to account for about 80 per cent. Yet Latin American countries still figure prominently in corporate strategy despite current difficulties in South American markets.

Volkswagen subsidiaries in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are holding their own. In Brazil, where production was held up by a six-week strike, VW do Brasil manufactured 354,744 vehicles, or *13.7 per cent more than in 1984.*

Fine prospects in Sao Paulo are due largely to a barter deal with Iraq, which is paying for 100,000 VW Passats in oil.

Next year VW's Brazilian subsidiary plans to export to the United States its *lower-priced Voyage and Parati models* made in Sao Paulo.

The idea behind this venture is to face up to fresh competition in the US market from Hyundai, a South Korean *manufacturer who has skyrocketed to* the top of the import charts in Canada.

VW do Brasil may slowly be recovering from past setbacks, but the Volkswagen subsidiaries in Argentina and Mexico are still in deep trouble.



VW chief executive Carl H. Hahn ... off on a new path. (Photo: Poly-Press)

In Argentina only 21,442 Volkswag*ens ran off the assembly lines* last year (as against 10,543 a day worldwide), while VW's share of the Mexican market declined by 4.1 to 31.5 per cent.

After the earthquake Volkswagen has *had to work short time in Mexico*, but the Mexican subsidiary is at least still running at a profit, whereas VW de Argentina is in the red.

At the VW works in Puebla, Mexico, a chapter in automobile history ended last year when the last VW Beetle bound for Germany rolled off the assembly line.

After 50 years in the market and over 20 million Beetles manufactured worldwide the model that was the VW hallmark for decades bowed out of European markets in March 1985.

The Mexican subsidiary will miss its export earnings from Beetles made in *Mexico, especially as the country faces* hard times now oil prices have plummeted.

At VW headquarters in Wolfsburg priority is also given to the Far Eastern markets, China and Japan.

Experience in both countries shows how difficult it is to gain a foothold in export markets. In Japan a mere 12,281 Santanas were manufactured under licence last year, while total sales of Audi and VW models were down 7.2 per cent to 30,499.

In China the first Santanas rolled off the assembly line in September and 1,700 were assembled by the year's end. The production target is *30,000* a year.

Yet Volkswagen seem to be neglecting a major Asian market in India, which is slowly developing a car industry of its own.

At present Indian-made cars are still British and Italian models of the 1950s. The Indian government was keen to find a partner to modernise the country's hopelessly outdated car industry.

The result was to be a successor to the Hindustan Motors Ambassador (a 1955 Morris Oxford) and the Premier Padmini (a veteran Fiat).

Suzuki made the running and European carmakers were left out in the *cold.*

Volkswagen of America Inc. slightly improved its position last year, selling 292,105 cars, or 2.4 per cent (as against 2.2 per cent) of new registrations in the United States.

Yet Volkswagen production facilities in the United States gave the parent company little pleasure. In Westmoreland single shifts were worked and the pressed steel works in South Charleston was shut down.

Volkswagen and Audi marketing divisions went separate ways to "emphasise the individual and separate identity of the two marques."

There will soon be separate Audi main dealers in Germany too, where 12 to 14 Audi sales centres are planned (but not separate marketing networks).

Last year VW-Audi dealers sold *730,000 VWs* and Audis in the Federal

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Werner Breitschwerdt ... wants technology policy changes. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Daimler-Benz hits back at the critics

Daimler-Benz says monopoly criticisms levelled at it because of takeovers of MTU, Dornier and AEG only shows how narrowly the size and strength of companies is viewed in Germany.

Werner Breitschwerdt, the company's chief executive, told a meeting of Bremen employers that the United States planned to make mergers easier and to assess them by international yardsticks, particularly with Japanese companies in mind.

He asked: "What is Daimler-Benz compared to General Motors, IBM or the many Japanese firms it competes with?"

The effect of mergers on German industry was usually overrated. Small and medium-sized firms still accounted for roughly half the GNP. What mattered was to strike a balance between small, medium and large firms.

Large firms with international reputations were needed to use the goods from a host of small suppliers.

Professor Breitschwerdt criticised current technology policy. Technology, he said, was widely seen as a sure cure to slow growth and unemployment.

Nearly every *Land* ran technology promotion schemes, and they were fine where they boosted basic research and technology transfer.

But industry and technology policymakers today were making the same mistake as demand-side policymakers in the 1970s. They mistakenly believed the state could spearhead economic trends.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 April 1986)

■ LIFE WITH THE FALLOUT

Some profiteering on 'safe' foods despite retailers' denials

Frankfurter Allgemeine

On 26 April, the day of the Chernobyl reactor disaster, a half-litre sachet of homogenised long-life milk cost 83 pfennigs.

A week later a sachet of the same bland and tasteless drink cost DM1.30.

Retailers have been quick to respond to changes in consumer preference in the wake of the Soviet reactor meltdown.

It's an ill radioactive wind that blows no-one any good. Other items have also been selling well: the best-known article was potassium iodate tablets.

Then there was all the food that people *regarded as the least likely to* be contaminated, and supermarkets arranged their stocks accordingly.

Canned and deep-frozen goods are selling as if it were Christmas.

No-one is sure how high the turnover of *canned* and deep-frozen food has been.

Head offices deny that retailers are *marking* up prices. "They can't; our price policy is centralised," one spokesman says.

However, some independent retailers as well as some supermarket branches have been charging more.

Greengrocers and fruit and vegetable counters at the supermarket have been emphasising the country of origin of some produce.

The small ad columns of West German newspapers are full of offers aimed at worried people. One firm advertises a geiger counter ("probably the most important equipment needed at the moment") selling at DM260.- plus postage and packing.

There is a waiting list of about eight weeks. After the initial run low-cost geiger counters were virtually sold out even though experts and the authorities *agreed that they probably aren't* very accurate.

Advertisers currently stress the need to order immediately, sending cash with order.

If your local dealer has run out of geiger counters or you aren't sure how to use one you can always call on the services of a radiation expert.

A phone call to a contact number in South Hesse is answered by a man claiming to represent an unnamed special firm. He says they have been inundated with enquiries and cannot take on orders for at least a fortnight.

When news of the Chernobyl catastrophe hit the headlines the team had mainly handled local orders, but now enquiries were pouring in from southern Germany.

"There's no official agency you can call on to check the radiation level in your own garden," he says. The flat rate for a spot check of a small area, such as two square metres of sandpit, is DM95, *including a copy of the report.*

Clients who want to have their entire garden checked for radioactivity must negotiate special terms with the team. Demand, says the man at the other end of the line, is sure to slacken off soon.

Others who have jumped onto the radiation bandwaggon agree. They don't expect people to remain as worried and uncertain as they have been of late.

If you feel like ordering a radiation-proof overall complete with mask and filter (available in various sizes) you must expect to pay DM1,880.

A set of radiation measuring devices costs DM1,360 and might also be handy to have around the home.

But to be sure of delivery you will have to place a firm and irrevocable order. So dealers can be sure of continued business once the initial upset is over.

A large conference room has been booked at a Düsseldorf hotel for a nuclear seminar to be held on 31 May. The fee for eight hours' expert instruction is DM490.- for the first and DM300.- for each further member of the family.

Book now and you can be sure to know the answer to questions such as: "How do I recognise a nuclear strike and what action should I take after the catastrophe?"

The course organiser says blandly that survival after a nuclear accident is a topical subject.

Travel agents were swept by their ill wind when they had to cancel all tours to the Ukraine, but in Berlin, for instance, *doctors are advising* worried patients to take a few weeks away from it all on the Canary Islands.

It is hard to say how many holidaymakers have booked as a result of advice *of this kind and how many would* have flown to Tenerife anyway, but agents have definitely picked up extra business in this way.

Jacqueline Hénard

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 May 1986)

Continued from page 8

Republic of Germany, making a handsome contribution toward world turnover of DM52.5bn and world profits of DM596m.

VW and Audi dealers sold over 2.4 million cars worldwide, or 12.7 per cent *more than in 1984. In Europe Volks*wagen leads the field with a market share of 13 per cent.

Now Triumph-Adler has been sold the VW management are banking even more on the future of the automobile. But they are still holding a few options open.

As part of the Triumph-Adler deal with Olivetti Volkswagen now own five per cent of the Italian firm, with an option to increase the stake to 11 per cent.

Walther Wuttke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 10 May 1986)

Information hot lines with little information

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Several official telephone numbers have been made available so the people can get information about the fallout.

The move is intended to convey the *impression that the government is continuously briefing the public.*

The implication is that a quick call will reveal all there is to know about radioactive fallout from the Soviet Union, especially for people planning to travel abroad.

But the reality is different. Two Interior Ministry phone numbers, for example, are always busy — not enough lines have been laid on.

And if you do manage to get through, you hear a recorded message that, as it turns out, doesn't say much at all.

If you don't get though, as we didn't, it is just as difficult finding out from the ministry itself what the message does say.

The Ministry's Press department said in response to a query that it had no idea what the recorded message said. *It merely understood that an* emergency phone service was available.

Eventually a Press department official succeeded in getting hold of the text. The *special* number was still engaged. But it would hardly have been worth the effort of getting through.

"This is the Interior Ministry with information about the latest situation after the nuclear power station accident in the Soviet Union," a voice says.

You are then told that the situation has eased off and radiation levels are back to normal. Jargon then follows. But not to worry; no food is sold that exceeds official radiation ceilings.

The closing remark is: "The personal freedom of movement and habits of the individual are in no way subject to restrictions."

If you get through to the other number you are advised not to visit Kiev, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Travel to other East Bloc states is no problem.

But it would be better not to eat or drink milk products and fresh vegetables grown outdoors.

The Foreign Office is no help. An official is very sorry and suggests ringing the Interior Ministry.

The Foreign Office later issues foreign travel recommendations. Surprise, surprise: don't visit Kiev etc.

As for travel to Northern, Southern or Western Europe, "the readings are reported by the governments concerned to be similar to or even better than those in the Federal Republic of Germany."

You might like to know what ceilings have been set by neighbouring countries. Figures exist. But no mention is made of them in the recorded messages.

Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain, Portugal, Greece and France have imposed no radioactive iodine safety limits for milk or fresh vegetables.

Jürgen Tuchel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 13 May 1986)

■ LIFE WITH THE FALLOUT

20-bed emergency radiation treatment unit set up

A 20-bed emergency unit for radiation victims is being set up at a Munich hospital. Staff will be on standby 24 hours a day and facilities will be fully operational within an hour of any alarm. An emergency will be simulated every few weeks for practice. On average there are three cases of nuclear contamination a year in the Federal Republic.

The radiation treatment centre at Schwabing municipal hospital, Munich, is a squat, new wing among buildings up to 100 years old.

You wouldn't notice it, with its 45 rooms and 20 beds, unless you were told, and that's fine by chief surgeon Dr Hans-Gerhard Henftling and his deputy, Dr Heinz Czempiel.

They have nothing to hide from the public but would prefer articles about them and their work to be published in specialist journals rather than in ordinary newspapers.

Newspapers can so easily get the facts wrong or, worse still, reach false conclusions, they say.

The new unit is a supra-regional treatment centre for radiation victims. It is the first of its kind in Germany and probably in Europe, says Dr Henftling.

Its task is to provide the best possible medical care for victims of radiation accidents at nuclear power stations, nuclear fuel reprocessing plant and so on.

Victims of radioactive contamination must be given the latest in immediate medical assistance. Anything less would be politically irresponsible, not to mention the employer's liability.

The unit forms part of the department of radiation therapy, oncology and nuclear medicine. It has 20 beds and 45 rooms.

This capacity is designed to cater for other major nuclear mishaps, such as cases of sabotage, but not full-scale disasters.

All-round medical care is essential to ease the burden of radiation on a patient and prevent long-term damage, Dr Henftling says.

So immediate medical care concentrates on nuclear medicine, surgery, haematology and internal medicine, with the initial emphasis on swift diagnosis.

The initial checklist includes questions such as:

- Which radionuclides are involved: alpha, beta or gamma rays?
- Is the patient suffering from contamination or has his body already absorbed radioactive substances?
- If his body has already absorbed radioactive substances, what radiation level is he likely to suffer unless remedial measures are undertaken?

After diagnosis and first aid patients can be transferred to other special wards at Schwabing hospital for treatment.

So the emergency unit has a special role that is not part of normal hospital work and, apart from surgical apparatus and three radiation measurement devices, its equipment is special too.

This special role sets it apart from the rest of the hospital administratively inasmuch as the role of municipal general hospitals is to provide basic medical care for the community.

Working conditions will be out of the ordinary, with doctors and staff on standby 24 hours a day and the unit fully operational within an hour of the alarm.

A helicopter mercy dash from the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf in north-eastern Bavaria would take an hour and ten minutes, while it would take only 20 minutes to fly a patient from Ohu nuclear power station near Landshut south of Munich.

Staff must be monitored to make sure they aren't given an overdose of radiation. They wear protective clothing too, of course. A report refers to the "particularly reliable computer-aided dose and contamination monitoring system."

Given the protection from radiation hospital staff can expect and their commitment to give patients medical care and assistance, staff are required to accept the same level of exposure as fire brigade officers on duty in radioactive accidents.

But staff all wear measuring devices and are replaced the moment exposure exceeds a safety level. "No-one can expect nursing and medical staff to submit to higher radiation exposure over a longer period," Dr Henftling says.

All staff are specially trained and fully briefed on the risks they run. Older staff are preferred because they run less of a genetic risk.

A genetic risk can of course be ruled out entirely, the doctors hasten to add. Everyone who works with radium is exposed to above-average radiation, but not to a level that is in any way a health hazard.

An environmental pilot project will monitor techniques for checking and disposing of contaminated liquid and solid waste, including precipitation techniques to filter long-life nuclear compounds from effluent.

Radioactive waste, liquid or solid, is either decontaminated or kept in special storage facilities.

After total purification liquid waste is pumped into the sewage system. Short-lived radioactive material is stored in special containers until its radiation level has subsided. It is then disposed of in the normal way.

Medium- and high-grade solid waste will be shipped via the Radiation Research Establishment in Neuherberg near Munich, to Mitterteich in the Upper Palatinate for final storage.

Waste disposal will always be arranged jointly and in agreement with the authorities, Dr Henftling stresses.

The centre will cost an estimated DM1m a year to run, of which conventional costs will account for only a fraction. But hospital accountants will only be able to analyse costs after the first full year in operation.

Statistically speaking, there are two or three cases of radioactive contamination a year in the Federal Republic, but DM1m is neither here nor there if even three lives can be saved, Dr Henftling says.

Organisation and medical care will be compared with other wards at the hospital in a three-year pilot project.

An emergency will be simulated every six to eight weeks to keep staff on their toes.

During the test period the Bavarian Environment Ministry will contribute an annual DM200,000 toward the costs.

The project was launched by the Social Affairs Ministry but after the trial period Munich will probably have to foot the bill.

It will either be included in patients' hospital bills or increase the health service deficit.

Werner Ringelmann
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 9 May 1986)



Health service 'could not handle reactor accident crisis'

German doctors would be out of their depth after a reactor accident, says a senior representative of the medical profession.

Professor Karsten Vilmar, head of the German Medical Association, told its annual meeting in Hanover that the German health service was not equipped to deal with widespread radiation from radioactive fallout.

Doctors knew that organised medical assistance for the initial survivors of a nuclear war would be impossible.

But his views did not get universal support. The only thing the meeting agreed about was in condemning violence as a means of achieving political objectives and in warning against more nuclear tests and the risks of nuclear war.

There was disagreement about the activities of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), the 1985 Nobel peace laureate.

The clash was heightened by the executive committee's decision not to send an official representative to the sixth IPPNW world congress in Cologne.

The executive was called on to reconsider by the Opposition within the association and by other medical bodies such as the Marburger Bund and General Practitioners' Association.

Yet the view that the German Medical Association ought to be represented in Cologne to bridge controversy within the profession rather than intensifying failed to gain majority support among the 250 delegates.

IPPNW doctors and supporters say all preparations for war are dangerous, including emergency medical provisions, but the majority approved the executive's resolution, which read:

"Preparation for medical assistance in the event of war of all kinds is urgently needed, especially as world peace is threatened by other than nuclear, biological and chemical weapons."

A resolution based on the assumption that any future war in Europe must inevitably be waged with the latest weapons of mass destruction (hence training in "war medicine" should be opposed) was rejected.

The aim must be to prevent war of any kind at all cost, the resolution as approved proclaimed.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 6 May 1986)

■ ARCHITECTURE

Embodifically speaking, it's all about the shape of space



Twentieth century culture is in conflict with itself over two differing views of space; space as a sheltering, intimate or ceremonial arched cavity, and space as a dematerialised flowing element, framing constructively and giving an insight in its sense of movement into infinity.

In the first concept of space our memories of an archaic unity and of life as easily understood exist.

In the second concept, scientific common sense dreams of its own, unlimited space, the unity of life as mobile world civilisation, basically exportable even to distant galaxies.

The Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius buildings, which exhibitions in Frankfurt and Karlsruhe bring to mind, embody these views of space as well as the contrast between them.

Both architects were fascinated by the same ideas, the notion that architecture should be cosmic with a cool, bold glance at outer space that formulates and drives forward civilised unity.

Gropius saw future world unity as cooperation between art and industry. Le Corbusier saw it as a synthesis of art in a poetic, music-toned world design.

Gropius favoured the endless line and the skeletal atmosphere. Le Corbusier, who invented the doctrine that a house is "a machine for living in," the meaningful, powerful, often monumental use of space, the play of the building's bulk under the sunlight.

The outer world takes part as a detail of this. It is not an event of light of the inner world, as in Gropius, but as a new collective truth that explains out-dated individuality.

Gropius was a dry architectural sociologist. Le Corbusier an enthusiastic art monk.

The former ended up in technicalities, the latter was reduced to the monastic (minute studio cells at the Dominican monastery of La Tourette).

Both began in the same Berlin office. Gropius worked from 1907 to 1910 for Peter Behrens. Le Corbusier, known then as Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, worked there in 1910-1911.

Behrens was a Berlin painter, designer for AEG and an architect. Mies van der Rohe studied with him.

Behrens impressed strong rationality on his pupils. Hans Poelzig [illegible] at the time in remote Breslau and only came to Berlin in 1920, shared with Behrens a feeling for people and a mystical sense of space.

The history of modern architecture would be quite different, not so bloodless and schematic, if Poelzig had had an earlier influence in Berlin, and on the "right" young architects.

Rudolf Schwarz and Egon Eiermann were later to be his pupils, representatives of sensory modernity.

Architect Le Corbusier — not considered here as a radical city planner — had other intentions in his early work, so similar to Gropius's. He didn't intend to be a Bauhaus director. (The Bauhaus was a school of applied art and building in Weimar.)

His splendid Villa Savoye in Poissy (1929-1931) did not turn the constructive proportions of his design outwards, as the Fagus-Werk by Gropius did.

The Fagus-Werk design celebrated the famous glass areas on a skeleton of concrete. Modern building techniques relieved outer walls from being just supports, so allowing the use of glass. This was regarded as an aesthetic triumph.

The Villa Savoye, on the other hand, is regarded as flawless, as a white ship-like design in a park, whose exterior honours aesthetic purism without taking into consideration building techniques and the organisation of space.

This exterior is not a constructive expression of the interior, but an autonomous, elegant place for living, built on slender concrete pillars, a gesture to pure hovering, an abstract symbol of intellectual power over nature.

This was a far cry from the doctrine Le Corbusier himself laid down that a house "should be as practical as a typewriter." It had a cubist exterior and a divided-up interior full of varied movement.

Here the raven takes flight, into the pantheon of pure physical art, the wordplay on the French for the bird, corbeau, devised by the master himself.

Gropius, who regarded the Americans as the most resolute inhabitants on earth, and who admired Henry Ford's conveyor-belt production line, greedily studied Taylor's teachings on scientific company management, quickly betraying artistic fantasy to utility.

His extravagant country houses built in America at the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s were part of this and would never have succeeded without the ingenuity of Marcel Breuer.

Le Corbusier was just as astonished as Gropius at coveyor-belt modernism and the new mathematics. He loved elegant motor cars.

But Le Corbusier, born in Switzerland but French by preference, lived in another world to the world of manufacturing. This is shown by the profound, secret belly of his concrete constructions such as the chapel at Ronchamp (1950-1954) or the monastery of La Tourette (1954-1961).

Gropius, on the other hand, got caught up in the notorious double layer technique, which he used in building the Boston City Hall between 1961 and 1966 — the ultimate failure in the attempt to reconcile the mechanical world with artistic forms, Americanism with Europe.

The irony is that the Europeans' dream of America melted away when Europeans became familiar with America.

Le Corbusier, the difficult European, was incomparably less successful in America than Gropius.

Astonishingly, similarities led to momentous differences. People keep quiet about this when the discussion turns to the compulsory theme about "the end of modernism."

The exhibitions in Frankfurt and Karlsruhe are not very similar, although the central themes are linked and cope with the differing reconstructions of the new architecture.

The Frankfurt Architecture Museum has on display drawings, plans, models and photographs, many of which were not on public view until now. They come from the Busch-Reisinger Museum of Harvard University and the Bauhaus Archives in Berlin.

The catalogue is almost a monograph on Walter Gropius. It ranges from the brilliant Fagus-Werk (1911-1925) to the splendidly clear semicircular labour office in Dessau (1927-1929) and the displeasing competition entry for the Reichsbank new building of 1933, a four-storeyed building with enormous rows of windows and a cream-coloured outer skin of paving, to the blocks of flats built for Interbau in Berlin between 1955-1957.

The Frankfurt exhibition catalogue was prepared by Winfried Nerdinger, the architecture historian from Munich. He deals with Gropius critically and in detail.

The exhibition is well mounted, particularly because of the lavish model reconstructions of the office and factory buildings that Gropius and Adolf Meyer built for the Cologne Werkbund exhibition of 1914.

The Frankfurt exhibition gives a critical appreciation of Gropius's work as a whole. The Karlsruhe exhibition deals uncritically with Le Corbusier's later work, presenting aspects of individual and poetic designs from 1945, in greater detail than any other exhibition has done.

A small atelier and an accommodation unit from "Unité d'habitation" in Marseilles (1947) have been built in replica in wood in two rooms.

In both rooms the Carthusian cell ideal is displayed.

The monk's cell was existential space for Le Corbusier, an expression of minimum spiritual experience and a nomadic life style.

Outrageously, the cell is used as a model for the child's room that in its turn was used as a model for the monk's retreat of La Tourette. The monk and the prisoner have an affinity with each other.

The real effects of the social conditions of these buildings are not made clear from the sketches, photos, paintings, water-colours, letters, drawings and plans (some are included in the catalogue) in Karlsruhe, but their artistic processes and the premises on which they were built are.

Among these is modular co-ordination, the systematisation of dimensions used in design in the manufacture of building materials and components, and in erection, with the general aim of increasing productivity.

Le Corbusier was an intuitive, mystical mathmaticians; further, space as a "colour bath," dynamising perception; then the idea of "a symphony of essential art," an idea that was almost realised fully at Ronchamp, a colour-toned dream of space, as it were, with the architect playing the role of authoritative conductor.

Later it was clear that neither of these two artists could work with anyone else: Le Corbusier's preparations, made in conjunction with the Dutchman Rietveld for the tent-like Philips pavilion for the world exhibition in 1959, failed.

Mathias Schreiber
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 April 1986)

Le Corbusier: Notre-Dame-du-Haut in Ronchamp, France, 1950.

Gropius: Fagus-Werke in Alfeld, Germany, 1911.

(Photos: Archives)

■ INFORMATION

Warning about the great photocopy theft

Half a million pages of copyright material are illegally photocopied every minute all over the world, according to one delegate at a conference in Heidelberg. There were warnings that unless something was done about stopping the theft of intellectual property by photocopying and such facilities as data banks and electronic libraries, creativity would eventually become smothered and the only information available would not be worth disseminating.

Fine words, good food, applause for the feeblest of speeches and a bumper dose of self-satisfaction were the hallmarks of a two-day international gathering in Heidelberg to mark the centenary of the Berne copyright convention.

Little attention was paid to the warnings about the threats copiers and computers pose to international copyright.

The centenary was hosted by the International Publishers' Union and the German Booksellers' Association, so it was virtually a closed shop with a tendency toward world-encompassing provinciality.

Countries where copyright is fairly well protected, such as Switzerland, were not represented. Neither were the developing countries, which for understandable reasons lay claim to special copyright arrangements.

The international bodies made a somnolent impression. To judge by complaints from Austria and Portugal they seem to be slow in cataloguing copyright data and circularising members.

Many speakers said they and the associations that represent them ought to be putting in more spadework and submitting sensible legislative proposals rather than just lamenting and enlisting the support of writers (who were represented by a solitary elderly man).

Given the billionfold theft of intellectual property by photocopiers the harmless attitude taken by publishers amounts to surrender to the constant erosion of copyright.

Even governments, the French for instance, seem inclined to capitulate to the sheer number of photocopies made and the wide range and speed of electronic reproduction.

So it was clear behind the scenes at the centenary symposium that there is no reason for satisfaction with the first 100 years of the Berne convention, which sets minimum standards for the protection of intellectual property. The next century will be even more problematic.

One point the Heidelberg conference made clear was the sheer volume of copyright turnover in GNP terms. In Sweden it is estimated to amount to roughly three per cent of GNP.

In the United States, said Henry Olsson of the Swedish Justice Ministry, demand for copyright services totalled $141bn in 1982, or 4.6 per cent of GNP.

If ignorance, thoughtlessness and unconcerned piracy are allowed to leave authors empty-handed and publishers out of pocket, creativity will die of sheer lack of money.

Intellectual property could be smothered by two major hazards: copiers and computers.

Faster, better and cheaper copiers are manufactured and sold in bulk. Berlin copyright specialist Wilhelm Nordemann says an annual 5,000 million copies of copyright material are made in the Federal Republic of Germany alone.

Copyright fees are paid in very few cases. Herr Nordemann cited as examples the law departments of firms and local authorities.

Companies and departments that used to subscribe to 30 or 40 copies of a periodical now made do with three: one copy for the library, one for photocopying and one in reserve. Thousands of periodicals perish as a result.

Sad to say, academics are often partly to blame for this state of affairs. They are happy to see their published work pirated and fail to realise that magazines they publish their work in are forced to cease publication as a consequence.

Oddly enough, universities are to blame for significant breaches of copyright by publishing readers for the contents of which copyright fees are not paid.

Publishers have sued a leading US university and a leading company, Texaco, for illegal copying. The aim is to get to make backpayments to the US Copyright Clearing Centre.

In the Netherlands publishers are also suing 13 universities for publishing 400 readers and refusing to pay ten cents per page and printed copy in copyright fees.

The July 1985 amendments to the German Copyright Act were praised for introducing fees to be paid for copiers and by their users. But publishers are unhappy with the unit fee, a mere two pfennigs per copy.

They are also critical of the Bundesrat for exempting both government authorities and private firms from paying the two pfennigs per copy.

Libraries, copy shops and educational facilities now pay much higher aggregate fees than private firms, which need only to pay the initial fee for the copier.

The German copyright clearing centre, VG Wort in Munich, expects revenue from the copier fee to total DM20m and earnings from the fee per copy to amount to DM5m.

The exemption of commercial users means a revenue shortfall estimated at about DM1.8m a year; a large copier might be expected to net about DM19,000 in copy fees in five years.

This is revenue that unjustifiably fails to find its way to both authors and publishers that are entitled to it.

John-Willy Rudolph of Norway says an estimated half a million pages of copyright material a minute are photocopied illegally all over the world. That amounts to 263 billion stolen pages a year. It is surprising to continue hearing from lawmakers and lobbies that freedom of information must have priority over copyright.

The second threat to the author's copyright comes from electronic libraries, data banks and computer mail boxes, which are steadily increasing in number and reciprocal access.

They often make books superfluous and hurt authors and publishers in equal measure by failing to pay copyright dues.

Electronic storage and reproduction

Continued on page 15

DIE ZEIT

■ WHODUNNITS

No need for chemical laws to foul up a good plot

British writers predominated at the Crime and Passion Festival held in Cologne by the British Council, the city of Cologne and the Cinemathek, writes Michael Bengel of the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Conan Doyle had Sherlock Holmes himself say that life is so much stranger and more colourful than anything the human mind could devise.

It only goes to show that fiction, not fact, is the best storyteller.

Little has changed in this respect since the days of Queen Victoria, as the Cologne Crime and Passion Festival impressively showed.

When H. R. F. Keating was asked after reading from his work which poison he had used in *Inspector Ghote Goes By Train*, he replied with a grin: "The answer is: author's poison."

It is all in the mind, and the powers of invention still work best. They don't need to follow the laws of chemistry; they are guided by the laws of writing.

The most universally valid of these laws was probably framed by Hans Werner Kettenbach when he read extracts from *Minnie* in the Central Library. "What matters," he said, "is to tell a tale that is plausible."

The detective novel is more heavily committed to realism than real life is. Real life would read like a sedative, said Richard K. Flesch, veteran publisher's reader and editor of the Rowohlt paperback crime series.

The festival consisted of six readings by 12 writers, one lecture, two debates, a radio play, a book exhibition and a different film nearly every day for three weeks at the Cinemathek.

These are the facts and figures of a fascinating and successful attempt to win new friends for British crime fiction and detective novels from the land of Sherlock Holmes.

It was subtitled A British Festivel and a festival it most certainly was, especially for the British.

Horst Bosetzky, the most successful German crime writer (using the initials -ky as his nom de plume), said off the record that Germans seemed to have been invited strictly as foils for the British.

In public he was unstinting in his praise of crime writers from Britain, admitting: "We still lack their entertainment quality."

The festival was staged jointly by the British Council, the city of Cologne and the Cinemathek.

Harold Fish of the British Council, Winfried Gellner of the municipal arts department and Uta Biedermann of the Central Library shared the planning and wrote a programme that is sure to remain a useful document even now the festival is over.

Books were the bricks and mortar of the festival. Theory exercised restraint. Criticism of detective fiction was particularly restrained.

Dieter Wellershoff's comment in the platform debate was typical of the overall atmosphere. "I am sorry," he said, "if the impression has arisen that this is to be a cross-examination of the writers."

Wellershoff shrewdly and sharp-wittedly analysed crime fiction some years ago, concluding that the ideology of common sense and a love of order were the message. He might have had more to say in Cologne but he would have been unlikely to convince the assembled aficionados of the cloak and dagger, the deerstalker and all the other attributes of what Germans call the *Krimi*.

So there was neither murder nor mayhem at the festival. No-one was forced to defend himself and everyone celebrated.

Cologne *Germanist* Volker Neuhaus said toward the end of the debate that the *Krimi* was still alive and kicking — and the audience largely agreed.

The limits to detective fiction are now set much more narrowly than they used to be, but within them crime fiction is still capable of a virtuoso performance.

Heroes have been known to be called Philipp van der Marlowe. P. D. James in *An Unsuitable Job For A Woman* writes a variation on the opening *scene in* Hammett's *Maltese Falcon*. Agatha Christie has the murderer tell his own tale.

Time and again the detective novel plays with its own past and the rules of the game.

Its history can be reconstructed from the way in which it goes about it, and in Cologne attention constantly switched between the two poles of crime fiction: the detective and the criminal, the cop and the robber.

They alone are enough to show how times have changed. "The police used to be a bastion of reliability," said Nicolas Freeling. "Nowadays the policeman is someone you kick in the teeth before he gets a chance to put the boot in first."

This was the most extreme viewpoint voiced at the festival. In British detective fiction the detective is still very much the hero.

P. D. James gave her detective the name of her English teacher at school, Dalgleish, although she now admits to not being too keen on him.

H. R. F. Keating frankly admitted that he himself was his Inspector Ghote.

Wellershoff said the conventional patterns survived even in distortion. "Today's detective tries to deny his descent from the hero, from Theseus who went down into the labyrinth."

Even if the detective was portrayed as a very ordinary cop from an ordinary home, Wellershoff said, as soon as the call came his "shadow existence of old" was resurrected.

The speakers were agreed that the detective as a human being, as Freeling put it, was about as interesting as a sack of potatoes.

He lives only via the criminal he is hunting; he is interesting only by virtue of the cases with which he deals.

"Is there such a thing as love of the criminal?" Wellershoff wondered, promptly answering the question with the comment: "We are only interesting in hearing about crime because we sense it is all part of ourselves."

Maigret always tries to imagine what his criminals must be feeling. That is how he arrives at his solutions and how Simenon towers over other crime writers.

If any 20th century writer deserved a Nobel Prize for the way he described our life and times, then surely it is Georges Simenon.

Michael Bengel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 29 April 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Defusing life's crises: congress forced to turn back queues of thronging experts

Since the Lindau Psychotherapy Conference was first held 35 years ago it has grown in importance: of the 3,000 applicants this year, 400 had to be turned away.

Twenty papers were read, eight lectures given and 173 seminars and courses organised, given by 157 psychotherapists and scientists.

The Conference dealt with "Crisis intervention" in its first week and "Life and old age" in its second.

More than 1,700 doctors and medical students came as well as 365 psychologists and students of psychology.

There was a noticeable increase in the number of women: 20 per cent more than last year.

The conference makes a point of dealing with current themes for, as society changes, so must there be changes in psychology and psychotherapy.

Various examples of crisis were presented to *il*lustrate "Crisis intervention." Current methods of therapy were demonstrated and new approaches explained.

The main point made was that crisis situations must be tackled creatively by patients and by therapists alike.

Verena Kast from Zürich University, for the past six years a draw at Lindau as an interpreter of fairy-tales, compared the course of every crisis to a creative process.

She maintained that in the unconscious mind an incubation phase, linked to frustration, frequently followed on a phase of collecting information. This, she said, was a creative crisis.

Anxiety barriers were overcome through the insight gained from the inflow of intervention. This insight phase is followed by a verification phase.

The experts are agreed that the crisis trigger is a sense of loss. It does not necessarily have to be the loss of a loved-one. It can also result from the sense of loss due to parting, the loss of work (retirement) and of course the loss of good health — sickness.

Heinz Häfner, head of the Mannheim Institute for Mental Health, spoke on "Crisis and crisis intervention seen from a medical point of view."

He emphasised that in cases of crisis and emergency a difference must be made between the medical, psychic and social dimensions of the need for intervention.

Here the kind of aid given is important. He said that crisis intervention centres, *established* over the past ten years, could only manage without medical or psychiatric specialists in attendance, when it was quite clear that there was no suicidal intent.

There are 13,000 suicides annually in this country. The number of attempts is at least 10 times that.

Professor Christian Reimer from Kiel University considered suicidal crisis. This has deep roots and is thus the most dangerous of all crises.

He said that increasingly assistants in all branches of medicine were confronted with suicidal patients. He presented the results of the latest research conducted in this area.

Professor Reimer explained suicidal conduct and presented examples of crisis intervention in such cases.

Heinz Katschnig of the Psychiatric Clinic attached to Vienna University described examples of the use of crisis in-



tervention and emergency psychiatric treatment in institutions.

Like his colleague Heinz Häfner he asked what were the limits between reasonable, personal responsibility and institutional aid. This is a question of importance to all organisations that handle psychiatric cases, and it is a particularly apt question in cases of crisis intervention and emergency psychiatry.

Katschnig said that efforts would be made to extend considerably emergency services, such as telephone call advice and out-patient facilities, and link them to emergency care in the psychiatric treatment system.

Claus Buddeberg from the Zürich University Hospital gave special attention to the family. He said crises were brought to a head in the family by a death or by a birth in the family, despite the fact that the family unit had got smaller and the family system had become more diffuse.

Even in the small families of today it was only possible to overcome these difficulties with outside help.

Ageing is not just a physical problem. In the second week the Conference turned its attention to "Life and old age," very much a current problem, repressed by society and neglected by psychotherapy.

Society has been radically restructured by our greater life-expectancy. These changes must be met not only by society but by the old themselves.

Much has been done to prevent or reduce physical senility. Although people today are physically able to live longer old people can easily fall by the wayside emotionally. Tobias Brocher from Neuss, a long-standing advocate of modern psychiatry and psychotherapy, took a critical look at "Living against the clock," that is closely related to wishful thinking about our own identity.

Professor Brocher said that the realisation that life had to be lived with all its errors and failures, and that there was no going back, came only when people were elderly.

He said that the original, impatient expectations in life's race could only be reined in by self-knowledge gained in maturity.

Brocher concluded with the promise that the courage to face up to dying and death grew from the interior awareness of the unchangeable nature of living.

Hans Heimann, professor of neurology at Tübingen University, took as his theme "Old age — the psychological process and how to cope with it." He described the ageing process. He said that structural changes of the nerve cells and the brain played an important role.

Professor Hartmut Radebold from Kassel, Franz S. Heigl from Tiefenbrunn and Anneliese Heigl-Evers from Düsseldorf described specialised psychotherapy for old people.

They pointed out that a wide range of psychotherapeutical methods were available for old people.

Particular attention was given to what marriage specialist Jörg Willi from Zürich had to say. He described with wit and irony the idyllic stituation of an elderly couple who looked on happily as their grand-children played, content that they had had a long life together.

"But I have never met such an ideal couple," he said. "Instead I have seen couples who squabble, suffer from ill-health and are dead set against young people."

The aim should be to intregrate old people into society and do everything possible to interest them in making things and taking exercise, even if they already take an interest in the world around them.

Jörg Willi's contribution emphasised questions dealing with marriage relations, co-evolution and psychopathology in old age. He pointed out that old people were put under constant stress by such factors as retirement, changing homes, being pushed into an old people's ghetto, the lack of something to do in society and physical and mental limitations due to ageing.

Common aims make it possible for old people to get closer together but, Jörg Willi asked, "what happens if these common aims are mainly concerned with surmounting life's anxieties and sickness."

This is opening up new psychological territory, and shows clearly that changes in society demand changes in psychology and psychotherapy.

Marion Rothärmel

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 May 1986)

Early recognition of deafness essential

Between five and six million people in this country are deaf to some degree. Many of them are children.

In an effort to tackle the problem, the National Association of Parents and Friends of Hard-of-hearing Children met in West Berlin.

One of the findings to emerge was that the common habit of shouting at deaf people is usually wrong.

The hard-of-hearing normally have a hearing fault which means they cannot "tune in" to certain sound frequencies. The spoken word is either heard wrongly, in fragments or it is distorted.

They have to piece together these fragments and what they have understood from lip-reading to make some sense out of them.

Shouting only helps in those cases where the condition is a result of problems with the middle ear. This form of disability can today be cured.

Children who are born deaf or develop hearing defects before they learn to speak are at a big disadvantage.

They can neither understand what is said nor control what they themselves say. It is incredibly difficult for them to learn to speak.

It is essential that their disability is recognised early so that they have a chance to develop properly.

According to an association survey, only 63 per cent of children with hearing difficulties have their condition diagnosed in the first year. This was despite al steps to secure early diagnosis.

The survey showed that 23 per cent were not diagnosed until they were three.

The Association suggested that the reason for this is inadequate knowledge about hearing difficulties, not only among parents but also among paediatricians.

As soon as the difficulty is diagnosed parents should see that their children have speech therapy.

Some parents reported how difficult it was to communicate with children hard of hearing within the family circle.

To encourage her five-year-old daughter to speak (she had lost her hearing from inflammation of the brain) one mother restrained her from using hand signs. The child was made to learn to speak and not make gestures.

Contact with the child was very tense and the little girl often had no enthusiasm to learn. The mother only had success with play learning.

Hannelore Hartmann, chairman of the National Association, said that new speech-training research to encourage children to speak early in life had achieved much.

Nowadays it is well known that communication not only involves speech, but considerably more. Teaching children is no longer limited to repetition, but nowadays much more learning is done through play. Evelyn Garden, a teacher, explained that educationalists must try to get the hard-of-hearing child to speak as correctly as possible, but also to speak spontaneously and take a delightr in doing so.

In West Berlin there is the Rheinfeld School for children hard of hearing. Here they can study at primary, secondary modern and intermediate school level in small classes with the aid of good technical equipment (hearing aids mainly).

According to Evelyn Garden, who teaches at this school, communication between parents, teachers and pupils is good because the classes are small and supervision is easy.

Maria Schinnen has had positive results at ordinary state schools with children hard of hearing.

In the Fleming School in Berlin, where she teaches classes of 15, up to five children are admitted who have hearing difficulties.

Frau Schinnen, who has two hard-of-hearing children in her class, teaches a lot through playing out parts and acting out scenes. This enables the hard-of-hearing to understand the lessons.

Because of the good results she has had Frau Schinnen would like to see more children hard of hearing admitted into state school classes.

Not only would it allow children hard of hearing to integrate earlier but the other children would learn more. Explanations of difficult words or expressions that are repeated for the hard-of-hearing helps children with normal hearing to grasp the words or expressions better.

To be able to introduce children hard of hearing into secondary modern school classes pre-supposes that the classes are small, there is plenty of room and good technical facilities. It is vital to have an hearing-aid available, for instance.

Parents take the view that introducing these children into a secondary modern school is very dependent on the personality of the teacher. This can only be tried out if the teacher is prepared to give special attention to such children.

Hearing-aids were in recent years

Continued on page 15

■ SOCIETY

Juvenile theft, the offence that carries a cry for help



Many cases of child theft are not really theft at all, say behaviourial authorities. Often, the act of taking something is a cry for help. In many cases, offences are not meant to happen: they spring out of play situations that go wrong.

In many instances, talks involving children caught stealing and their parents reveal previously unsuspected psychological problems. Few children in this situation offend again.

A typical case was that of Frau Meister who discovered that her 12-year-old daughter, Bettina, had been stealing money from her purse, sometimes five marks, sometimes 10 marks.

Frau Meister was shocked. She had lived alone with Bettina in a comfortable two-bedroom apartment since separating from her husband a year and a half before. There had never been any previous cause for concern. Bettina had only to ask for something to be given it.

She was industrious at school and was keeping up. Once a week she took ballet lessons and recorder lessons. She saw her father twice a month.

And now there was this. Bettina said she didn't want to take the money, but something drove her to it.

It was like a bad dream for Herr Hubert when he got a call from police headquarters. His 15-year-old son, Ralf was being held, accused of taking a piece of radio equipment.

This was the ultimate horror for Herr Hubert. *All his life he had battled to* achieve something. Work, work and more work had propelled him into the ranks of middle-level civil servants. Ralf, the day dreamer, should take care that he had things better.

"Take care you don't wind up on the skids," father Hubert warned whenever he caught Ralf listening to music or lazing away the time in some other way. He was proud that Ralf attended a *Gymnasium*, an academically streamed secondary school.

And what now? It turned out that this was no isolated occasion. Ralf had built up a store of stolen goods — training shoes, records, cassettes. He had made a habit of selling them cheaply or giving them away at school.

Herr Hubert was angry and humiliated. His son had not only landed himself on skid row, but he, Herr Hubert, as well.

Herr and Frau Meissner were shaken when they learned that their 16-year-old daughter, Marlen, had taken a tube of lipstick valued at DM8.90 from a department store.

But they were not as shocked as Herr Hubert. Herr Meissner: "When we as kids were caught stealing apples, the neighbour would box our ears. Nowadays when something similar happens, there is a paper war."

When the judge sent Marlen to an advice centre and recommended that her parents go as well, Herr Meissner agreed only after a grinding of teeth. As a busy businessman, it was not at all clear to him why such a fuss should be made over what was mere bagatelle.

In a certain way, he was right. There is a lot of sensational Press reporting about increasing juvenile crime. But it is time that this was all put in perspective. Children are not more criminally inclined than they used to be.

But they want to play, experiment, demonstrate their courage and push limits. This can be difficult in the confines of the concrete jungle. Something *more serious seems to have emerged out* of the old game of cops and robbers.

Kurt Weis is a Saarbrücken social scientist who specialises in criminology and deviationist behaviour. He says the book is too often thrown at children who are merely feeling their way through the minefield of social conventions in a tedious society full of restrictions.

Often children are unaware or only partly aware of what they are doing and, at the crucial moment, something happens. When it all goes wrong the child is stamped as a criminal.

This is supported by the findings of a 10-year study by a Hamburg professor of sociology, Liselotte Pongratz, over the extent and manner of treating delinquent children.

She found that many juvenile crimes developed out of play situations. They were not deliberate. There was also a big difference between city and country.

Only 10 per cent of all cases were in country areas, suggesting that there was more room for experimenting and self-testing out of the cities.

Professor Pongratz refers to the changing methods of handling child crime. It has become more anonymous. Control has become official, through for example the police, the house detective or the sales person (who is often paid a premium for obtaining a shop-lifting conviction and, therefore, is not always in a suitable position to handle such cases person to person).

This makes breaches of the norm easier — children find it difficult to imagine a crying Herr Kaufhof or a worried Herr Horten (Kaufhof and Horten are two big department store chains).

Tübingen child psychologist Reinhart Lempp, says: "Children are exposed to enormous temptation, far greater than used to be the case. Today they are landed right in the middle of goods in big department stores and supermarkets.

"The qualities of the goods are extolled. Children want to have them. The goods are unguarded but children must keep their desires under control. This is done by business with the aim of increasing turnover. Demanding that people don't sometimes help themselves is demanding too much."

There is also the influence of parents, for example the father who brags at home how he put once across the tax people or smuggled something through the customs.

So it should be seriously asked who the criminal is. Is it the children? Or is it rather the conditions under which they grow up?

There is no doubt that there is a causal connection between the frequency of theft of personal property and the value society puts on possession and consumption.

Publicist Horst Speichert, the father of two children, says theft can mean a seeking to sever the parental umbilical cord, a desire to put personal capabilities to the test and to become an independent person.

The great majority of children caught don't get into trouble again. It is different when children continue to steal. When these repeaters get caught, they are in fact sending out an SOS, says Herr Speichert, who is the publisher of a book on the subject.

These children have, in the process of becoming people in their own right and loosening ties with their parents, run into problems that they alone cannot handle. Help is needed.

This was precisely what Frau Meister discovered when she attended an advice centre with her daughter, Bettina. Bettina's thefts were a cry for help. Behind the apparent harmony of home life were many unadmitted feelings and conflicts.

The therapist said the thefts had a hidden message: you're not giving me enough, so I have to look elsewhere.

Like many especially well-behaved children, Bettina had not learned to recognise her needs and to talk about them spontaneously.

After her father moved out, Bettina developed a secret anger against her mother ("she drove him out"). Her desire for emotional attention became rolled up like a ball inside her and had driven her to take *money* "to buy something nice".

It was only after she had been caught after an unconscious but single-minded drive towards being discovered was it possible to uncover the feelings that had developed after her father had departed.

Only then could the barriers between mother and daughter come down. The subject of stealing quickly became irrelevant.

And the 15-year-old Ralf, *it turned* out in counselling talks, had *committed* his offences out of an inner need. His father had once been to a *special* school for problem children. Now Ralf had developed anxieties because of his father's fears that he might not make good. He found himself torn between on the one hand, high expectations ("You'll become something special") and prophecies of doom ("You'll wind up in the gutter!").

Ralf crammed and crammed at school, but his heart was not in it. The life that his father had held up as an example did not seem to Ralf to be worth striving for.

Ralf had no friends at school. One day by accident he became involved with some others of his age in a stealing expedition. For the first time, he felt he was winning recognition. And there was the adventure. But in taking *part, he* also fulfilled his father's negative [illegible]tions.

He was eventually caught after many stealing expeditions. It was as if he had given in to the intolerable pressure of inner contradictions. He was at the end of his tether. So began a long, overt, open confrontation with the father and a painful healing process.

Psychologically trained workers at counselling centres find time and time again that parents have better chances of helping their children the more they are prepared to admit their own worries and wishes and share them with their children.

Counsellers discover that parents [illegible] surprised to find out that consumption can only be a substitute for fulfilment [illegible] wishes.

Many parents need to be more aware of their own needs. They need to [illegible] more joy in small things. Their attitude should not be so grim.

Inge Nord[illegible]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 April 1986)

Poll of old people in Berlin brings deluge of non replies

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Old people in West Berlin are apparently not well informed about what the city offers them. A survey has revealed that they are largely unaware of the existence of such things as centres where they can go for help.

The survey was carried out for the Free University and paid for by the borough of Charlottenburg.

Half of the 18,000 people in the borough between 60 and 70 years old were polled. The response was only 10 per cent — 878.

Half of the respondents did not know of the programme mapped out for them by the borough. The survey, now in the hands of the borough social committee, said that information about the programme should be more widely disseminated to, for example, doctors' surgeries, chemists' shops and diagnostic institutes.

More than half the respondents did not know of facilities representing their interests.

An alarming finding was that more than 12 per cent said that in case of illness, they could not expect anybody to come to their aid. That means more than 100 people even in this severely restricted survey.

More than half said they could expect to get help from some relative.

Only four per cent were able to name centres where they could turn for help. The existence of these centres is not well enough known, says the survey.

A practising doctor says: "The illness of the aged is isolation."

Physical illness plays a decisive role. Continued or returning health was the biggest wish (57 per cent) of the respondents. Next was a wish for better income. Only one in 25 was satisfied.

Many old people urgently need financial support. Many have less than 500 marks a month. Some had between 200 and 300 marks.

More than 80 per cent of respondents did not use leisure centres. There was some strong criticism.

People attending alone were discouraged and considered their visit a mistake.

Respondents complained about the lack of afternoon events with concessions for pensioners.

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, 25 April 1986)

■ ESPIONAGE

Spy waited in fear for the strains of Blue Danube



A spy charged with passing military secrets to the East Bloc has told a Munich court how for years he tuned in to the East German short-wave radio service at 11 p.m. on the first Monday of each month.

If the Blue Danube walz was played, he was to telephone a number in East Berlin. If he then heard the name David, he was to run for cover.

Manfred Rotsch, 61, a Munich engineer, is said to have given plans of the Tornado multi-role combat aircraft to the Russians. In court, he looks in court like a grey-faced pensioner marked by life's ups and downs.

He is on trial in the Bavarian High *Court for spying* while working as a head of department at Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the Munich aerospace firm.

Most of the evidence is unchallenged by the defence.

Asked to outline in detail his 30 years as a spy, he is wracked by tears and loss of memory as he sits in the dock wearing a dark green Bavarian jacket and grey trousers.

It seems certain to be a long case. The court has allowed itself until August to get to the bottom of a case which the *Verfassungsschutz*, the counter-espionage agency, claims involves a masterspy.

The court-appointed doctor has found Rotsch, who presents a picture of misery, fit to spend four hours a day in the dock.

He was arrested in September 1984, 10 days before he was due to retire as a head of department at the arms manufacturer MBB in Ottobrunn, near Munich.

His cover was blown after a tip-off from the French intelligence service that Moscow had secret plans of the Tornado multi-role combat aircraft.

The Tornado, designed for air force use by and for several Nato countries, costs DM79m. It is manufactured by MBB. Did Rotsch work for the KGB? All that is known for sure is that he was a spy for the East Bloc and that his initial contacts were via the GDR.

The court frowned collectively, as it were, when Rotsch (code-name Emil) explained why he had joined the CSU, the Bavarian wing of the Christian Democrats led by Munich Premier Franz Josef Strauss, in 1972.

He had done so, he said, in protest against the treaties with East Bloc countries signed by Willy Brandt's SPD-FDP government in Bonn.

"It may sound paradoxical," he said, "but I haven't forgotten who took my homeland away from me." Rotsch was born in the Sudeten German area of Czechoslovakia from which Germans were expelled after the war.

He said he was brought up to hold "national" views by his parents.

From the earliest stages of the proceedings there are many points that sound a paradoxical note in the tale told by the inconspicuous engineer.

He trained as a stress analyst in Dresden and worked as a design engineer in East Berlin in the 1950s.

In 1954 a workmate and trade union secretary told him that as he spent so much time visiting his parents in the West he could well do something for "us." That was how he began his career in espionage.

He often visited his parents in the West and lent them a hand because they lived in straitened circumstances. Threatened with the sack for spending so much time in the West, he quit his job in East Berlin and joined his parents for good.

He insists that he wasn't sent over to the West by the GDR but claims he can't remember what document he signed when he was recruited by the GDR intelligence service.

All he remembers is that he felt he was sure to have difficulty at work and would no longer be allowed to come to the West if he refused to oblige.

He lacked working-class antecedents and needed to prove his loyalty to the workers' and peasants' state.

Is Rotsch a weakling and conformist or is he a dyed-in-the-wool communist who kept up his cover as a small and insignificant cog in the works until the day he was arrested?

The only inference that can be drawn from what he has to say is that he cannot have been a convinced communist.

At times he felt worried stiff and ready for the scrap heap at MBB when further orders were not in the pipeline and the threat of redundancy loomed large.

He thought in terms of retiring early or [illegible] sack.

He lived with his family in a terraced house at Ottobrunn, where friends and neighbours saw him as a friendly family man and father of three daughters.

He was popular in the CSU, for which he unsuccessfully stood for the local council.

He was a works councillor and member of the works council's building, organisation and planning sub-committees. He decided to stand for election to the works council at a time when he feared redundancy. He was first elected on a CSU ticket and twice re-elected for IG Metall, the 2.5m-strong engineering workers' union.

Manfred Rotsch . . . weakling or dyed-in-the-wool communist? (Photo: dpa)

Rotsch helped to design the Helios solar probe and supplied the Russians with "structural comparisons." His Soviet contact promptly reprimanded him, saying: "We build aircraft ourselves."

The East Bloc only showed renewed interest when he revealed details of the Tornado project. He was asked to supply details of a visit to America in connection with a special wing unit.

He photographed MBB Spacelab tenders using an East German single-lens reflex camera he had bought in the GDR, where it cost him the equivalent of a month's salary, and brought with him to the West.

"I always took great care to ensure I gave the Russians nothing that was really confidential," he says.

He embarked on his espionage career at Heinkel in Stuttgart, where he photographed blueprints of the shape and dimensions of a wing unit for the VJ 101 vertical take-off aircraft for the Russians.

He also supplied them with plans for a test unit known as the seesaw, a device used to simulate the aircraft while hovering in mid-air.

Rotsch's family claim to have had no idea of his espionage activity.

For years he tuned in to Radio GDR on short wave at 11 p.m. on the first Monday of the month. If the Blue Danube waltz was played he had to ring a telephone number in East Berlin. If the name David was mentioned he was to scurry for cover.

He says he disliked the work from the start but was scared. He often strolled round Salzburg in the guise of a holidaymaker. There he met his Russian contact and handed over the films he took with him in his trouser pocket.

[illegible] was sacked without notice and can forget about his DM50,000 severance pay and DM2,200 pension.

"The financial repercussions have been catastrophic," he says. His wife now goes out to work, earning DM800 a month, and has let part of the house to lodgers.

Gabriele Rettner-Halder

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 11 May 1986)

Copyright

Continued from page 12

has the same legal status as copying and is subject to copyright and the author's *and publisher's* permission. Uncertainty prevails about [illegible] Some want to grant them privileged status only when they are written by the author of the full work; others fear that abstracts may harm and come to replace the originals. US publisher Karen Hunter has accordingly called for abstracts to be granted copyright status.

These problems must be seen alongside the unsolved aspects of computer software and piracy of audio and video cassettes, not to mention the position of music publishers hit by piracy of both sheet music and the recorded variety.

One can but agree with Munich copyright expert Gerhard Schricker, who said in Heidelberg that information worth communicating will only survive in the long run if the right of intellectual property is respected.

Hanno Kühnert

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 2 May 1986)

Continued from page 13

considerably improved, and they are vital for communication with the hard-of-hearing.

Twenty years ago people who were regarded as deaf can now hear something with these aids, Frau Hartmann said.

Frequently, the public, and even the experts, are inadequately informed about modern aids.

The National Association now monitors new technical developments in this sphere. A revised advice sheet has been published on how to recognise early in a child's life that he or she has hearing difficulties.

Birgit Fleischmann

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 2 May 1986)

East Berlin tops league of unmasked agents

North Rhine-Westphalia remains a favourite target for East Bloc agents, says the 1985 report of the counter-espionage agency, *Verfassungsschutz*.

A lot of espionage is directed at targets along the Rhine and in the Ruhr, one of Germany's industrial heartlands.

North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor said when presenting the report that a surprisingly large number of West Germans had come forward either with pointers to possible espionage or to own up to spying themselves.

There might be a link between this phenomenon and the defection of a high-ranking *Verfassungsschutz* official to East Berlin last year.

East Germany heads the list for agents unmasked — nearly half. Then come the Soviet Union, with 25.4 per cent, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania.

North Rhine-Westphalia attracts spies because it is where leading German and international commercial and research facilities are based. There are also a lot of military bases there in addition to Bundeswehr and Nato commands. The Federal government and most diplomatic missions are also in area.

The Rhine-Ruhr conurbation makes it easy for agents to go to ground and live anonymously, the report says. There are said to have been no decisive changes on the extreme right of the political spectrum, which has about 4,000 supporters.

The number of extreme left-wingers, about 20,000, has remained fairly steady since 1984 too.

The Red Army Faction (RAF) continues to be considered the most dangerous left-wing German terrorist group.

Among neo-Nazis the Free German Workers' Party (FAP) seems to have gained ground, consisting mainly of supporters of the banned Action Front of National Socialists and National Activists (ANS/NA).

Their aim is to disseminate Nazi ideas. Serious tension is reported between the FAP's founder and former ANS/NA neo-Nazi supporters who have joined him.

Michael Kühnen, a neo-Nazi extradited from France in 1984 to serve a prison sentence in Germany, continues to be a *Führer* figure and to ply his supporters with Nazi ideas from behind bars.

The National Democratic Party (NPD) is fairly insignificant, with a mere 1,000 members in North Rhine-Westphalia. It didn't bother to stand in last year's state assembly elections, so poorly did it rate its prospects.

It is now said to be preparing for the January 1987 general election with the slogan Your Heart for Germany's Future.

On the left wing the Communist Party (DKP) is active, both openly and covertly, in a wide range of alliances.

It didn't nominate candidates of its own for the state assembly elections, supporting "Peace List" candidates instead.

But the Peace List only polled 61,818 votes, or 0.7 per cent, and nearly a third less than in the European Parliament elections.

The report concludes that attempts by all left-wing extremists to gain a decisive influence on the peace movement failed in 1985 as in the past. But organisational influence on individual campaigns of local groups must not be underestimated.

dpa

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